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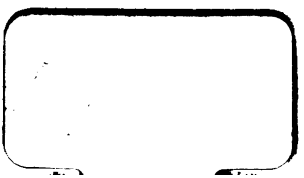


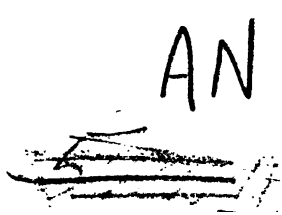
MEMOIRS

OF

THE LIFE AND TIMES

OF

DANIEL DE FOE.



MEMOIRS

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THE LIFE AND TIMES

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DANIEL DE FOE:

CONTAINING

A REVIEW OF HIS WRITINGS,

AND

HIS OPINIONS UPON A VARIETY OF IMPORTANT MATTERS, CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL.

BY WALTER WILSON, Esq.

OF THE INNER TEMPLE.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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ERRATA.

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Page 84, Reference, for *Hymn to the Pillory*, read *Lucasta, by Col. Lovelace.*

—— 96, line 4, after *the*, read *best.*

—— 289, — 16, for *Ducisme*, read *Dulcissime.*

CHAPTER I.

Reflections upon the Reign of Queen Anne.—Her Accession to the Throne.—Debasement of Religion.—Political Changes.—Triumph of Toryism.—Intemperance of Churchmen.—De Foe's Account of the Opening of the Reign.—The Queen's Zeal for the Church.—Its Effect upon the Clergy.—Revival of May-poles.—De Foe's Account of the Excesses of the Times.—Violence of Churchmen Repressed by the Queen.—Discontent thereupon.—Some of the Ministers Desert the High Party.—Bad Spirit of the Commons.—War Declared.—Unsuccessful Expedition to Cadiz.—De Foe's Poem upon the Spanish Descent.—Dissolution of Parliament.—Meeting of a new one.—Insult to the Memory of King William.—Satirized by Mr. Walsh.—Revival of the Royal Touch.—Origin of the Usage.—Anecdotes of its Practice in former Reigns.—De Foe's Solution of the Spell.

1702.

THE succession of a new sovereign is always attended with important consequences to individuals, and not unfrequently to nations at large. This is more particularly the case when faction takes the lead, dividing a nation into parties with adverse interests and angry feelings, kept alive by the assistance of its governors: all that is noble and generous becomes sacrificed in the general calamity, which subverts friendships, is fatal to morals, and barbarizes a people. When party spirit forces asunder the restraints that hold together the peace of society, it sets no bounds to its malignity; it breaks out into falsehood and detraction, pollutes the seat of justice, and extinguishes all the kind and generous feelings of our nature: good sense is superseded by the dominion of passion, and a savageness of disposition takes the place of humanity.

That the reign we are now entering upon was strongly marked with this character, is unfortunately too much a matter of history to admit of any controversy. Men of real merit, if of different principles, were like objects seen through false mediums, and each distorted by the prejudices of the beholder. Even knowledge and learning suffered in the contest, each party having its array of writers, who partook of the common appetite for slander and falsehood. Amidst the violence of faction, private character was often unjustly assailed, and a sordid selfishness stifled the voice of patriotism.

ANNE, the second daughter of James II. by his first wife, Anne Hyde, daughter of the Earl of Clarendon, was thirty-seven years of age when she ascended the throne. Her education had been superintended by Compton, bishop of London, who instilled into her mind his own high-church notions, which were fostered by her early connexions; so that there was every reason to expect, when she became queen, that she would value herself upon her zeal for the church. Nor did she disappoint the expectations that had been formed of her; although, in some instances, she found it necessary to restrain the intemperance of the party she patronized. Throughout the whole of this reign, more or less, the teachers of religion carried into the pulpit the weapons of hostility: not to wield them against the abettors of vice and irreligion, but against their brethren and neighbours of the same or of a different faith. This overflow of the bad passions in themselves, kindled a like animosity in their hearers, until the tranquillity of the country became disturbed, and even the civil authorities were placed at defiance. In this game of politics, for it is undeserving the name of religion, the clergy were no better than the tools of aspiring statesmen, who made them the stepping-stone to their own ambition; but its tendency was to revive those

dangerous projects, which, at a former period, elevated the mitre above the crown. The injury which it inflicted upon religion, was to secularize the clergy, and divert them from the duties of their profession; to substitute pomp and grandeur for pastoral simplicity; to obscure the virtues of humility, meekness, and self-denial; and to erect a dominion over conscience, as adverse to just views of human nature, as to the spirit of kindness and forbearance which characterized the early messengers of christianity. This perversion of religion from its genuine objects, called for the denunciation pronounced upon a similar corruption by Constantine, and found in the legend of St. Sylvester, "This day a deadly poison is infused into the church."

The queen was proclaimed upon Sunday the eighth of March, 1702, being the day that William died; and her coronation took place the 23d of the following April. In her first speech to the privy-council, she declared her resolution to adhere to the policy pursued by the late king; and the preparations for war continued unremitted. As an earnest of her policy, some of the bitterest enemies of William were now taken into favour; and "the dearer any one had been to the late king, so much the more violently was he attacked with various calumnies."* The Lords Somers and Halifax, who had been distinguished by his confidence, and not less by the eminency of their services, were early discarded from the privy-council; and within two months the whole of the Whigs were displaced, to make room for their opponents.(A) "Amongst all the queen's counsellors, the Earl of Marlborough was certainly the first in eminence as well as favour, next to the Prince of Den-

* Cunningham's Great Britain, i. 259.

(A) The Prince of Denmark was declared Generalissimo of all her Majesty's forces; the Privy seal was given to the Marquis of Normanby; the Earl of Nottingham and Sir Charles Hodges were appointed Secretaries of State; Lord Godolphin, Lord Treasurer; the Earl of Jersey, Lord Chamberlain; Sir Edward Seymour, Comptroller of the Household; Mr.

mark, her husband; for no man could equal him at that time for reputation in war; and as the earl excelled the rest of the courtiers in good breeding, prudence, military glory, and great experience in business, so his lady, who was a woman of great beauty, high spirit, and indefatigable application to her own interest, held the first place in the queen's favour and authority. For, both of them had passed their whole life at court with so much magnificence, and been supported with such powerful interest, that no envy could now eclipse the splendour of their name and favour with the queen: but I cannot deny that both of them were as earnestly solicitous to make their private fortunes, as to serve the public; for they both had a greater desire of gain, than ambition of power."*

At the time of these political movements, various changes were made in the lieutenancy; and even the most subaltern offices were regulated according to the politics of the new court. The expectations of bigots from this new order of things, are strikingly pictured by De Foe in the following anecdote. "I knew a person of the same principles with the high-church, who, discoursing with me upon the altering the lieutenancy throughout the kingdom, was pleased to say, Now, Sir, we have an opportunity, and don't distrust our improving it: a little time, and pains shall compel all to be of one religion. How can that be, added I, don't you find the Dissenters are the most numerous and the richest persons in the kingdom? 'Tis no matter for that, cried he, laughing, it will not be long before all Dissenters will be out of office, and the magistracy in our hands; when that d—d liberty of conscience, added he, biting his lips, shall be snatched away, and they compelled to conform. I fancy,

Howe, Paymaster to the Guards and Garrisons; and Sir George Rooke, Admiral of the Fleet. The other departments were also filled by persons who had been active in their opposition to King William.

* Cunningham, i. 262,

said I, these things will not happen in my time, nor in this reign, whatever they may in the next. Assure yourself that they will, added he, and as for those who are obstinate, I hope queen Mary's bonfires will blaze again in Smithfield, that they may be all extirpated, and not a soul left. This," adds De Foe, "is a principle of a red-hot nature, yet the author of it says he's a churchman. I believe it, but 'tis that of Rome, whose doctrines are damnable and bloody."* That this pious churchman was not singular in his opinions, our subsequent pages will bear authentic evidence.

The political changes above described, had but an indifferent aspect upon the fortunes of De Foe, who regarded them, nevertheless, with as kindly a feeling as circumstances would allow. It may be remarked here, in his vindication against the scurrilous libels of the day, that in all his attacks upon the Tories and high-flyers, he carefully separates them from the crown, which he uniformly treats with deference and respect. The following passage in reference to the commencement of the queen's reign, will fully justify this remark.

"When her majesty first came to the crown, the administration of affairs was committed to a new set of men, as to the interest of parties, I mean, for some of the same persons were left in the ministry. Her majesty, like a wise princess, declared in terms as explicit as possible, her resolution of governing the kingdom with a steady and unbiassed justice, but with a strict regard to all parties as to property, and as to liberty both civil and ecclesiastical. 'Tis true, her majesty expressed in her first speech a true zeal and affection for the Church of England, and in the most passionate and obliging terms, told them that they should be the men of her favour; that she would screen the Dissenters, and take them into her protection, they behaving themselves dutifully and peace-

* Christianity of the high-church. Ded.

ably to the government; but that the most zealous members of the Church of England should be the most trusted, honoured, and employed by her, and the like. I confess, it is very surprising, and would move any man to an unusual degree, to reflect what use some gentlemen made of words so honestly designed, so candidly spoken, and so directly pursued; and on their mistake I must be allowed to ground a great many of the unhappy methods some gentlemen took to raise new divisions, and widen old breaches in the nation: whose success in the wicked endeavour brought us to the brink of an unseen snare, and left the nation in a most dangerous crisis; which, had it not been taken in time, would have endangered the whole government, and have bid fair for a re-revolution, into Popish and French slavery."* In this passage, De Foe alludes to the precipitancy of the new ministers, who, says he, "ran themselves out of breath, till, Phæton like, they forced our English Jupiter to overturn them, to save the world from being set on fire by their headstrong fury and impolitic precipitation."† In drawing the inference, that the queen meant to give up the Dissenters to the fury of the high-church party, De Foe says, "They committed one of the greatest absurdities imaginable, in that they must suppose her majesty what I have more manners than to mention; when at the same time, the Dissenters had the royal promise for protection, which they resolved not to forfeit by any undutiful behaviour whatsoever.‡"

In this feverish state of the public mind, the most harmless expressions would be perverted by furious men to the furtherance of their own designs. But they relied less upon any ambiguous words of the queen, than upon her known zeal for the church, and the preference she avowed for the zealots of their party. Royal zeal is always of an infectious nature, and generally productive of bad consequences in the

* Review, iii. 155. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

hands of those who cannot distinguish between the use and abuse of it. That the common people were misled is not at all surprising, when so many persons of education, who should have known better, were carried away by the delusion.

The sentiments of the queen in favour of the high-church party, were more distinctly avowed in her speech at the close of the parliament; in which she says, "I shall always wish that no difference of opinion among those that are equally affected to my service, may be the occasion of heats and animosities among themselves. I shall be very careful to preserve and maintain the Act of Toleration, and to set the minds of all my people at quiet. My own principles must always keep me entirely firm to the interests and religion of the Church of England, and will incline me to countenance those who have the truest zeal to support it." The meaning of these words could not be mistaken; but they were not dictated by a spirit of wisdom. Although, as an individual, the queen had an undoubted right to profess and practise the religion of her education; yet, as the supreme magistrate of a free nation, it was both impolitic and unjust, thus freely to declare herself in favour of any set of men, to the exclusion of others who were under no legal incapacity.

That the effect was not the quiet she anticipated, but rather a signal for calling into play the base passions of bigots and fanatics, we are thus instructed by De Foe. "The clergy, especially, taking hold of it, would neither give leave or time for any body, no not for the queen herself, to make any other explications than such as they, for the ends which afterwards appeared, thought fit to make. But making the queen's words speak their meaning, they began to open, and raised a most unaccountable hurricane in the nation, letting the Dissenters know that their day was come; that their reign was at an end; that now they had a Church of England queen; and the Church would re-assume her

dignity and authority; that she would no more be insulted by schismatics and fanatics; that her majesty was the true defender of the church; and that she had recommended to them a zealous concern for the interests of the church; and they would not let slip the occasion. They publicly declared, that zeal for the interest and safety of the church could be capable of no other construction, but zeal to pull down the pride and insolence of schismatics; that the church's enemies must be destroyed, and faction rooted out; and there could be no zeal for the church, but such as consisted in ridding her for ever of the fear of her enemies. That the church had no enemies now in her view but the fanatics; that the Papists were sufficiently fenced against by the laws, and the aversion of the people to the idolatry of the Romish worship; but that the Presbyterians were a viperous brood nourished in our own bowels, who had taken advantage of the circumstances of the nation, under the late administrations, to get a kind of legal admission, which they pretended to call an establishment; that all along, under the shadow of this lenity and forbearance, they had encroached on the very essential privileges of the church, undermining her foundation, and that now was the time to recover themselves when supported by a true Church of England queen, her majesty also having invited them to it by her most gracious speech, and with promises of her favour and affection.

" With this, they forget not to fill the whole nation with the most scandalous, odious, and unjust reflections upon the person and government of the deceased king; representing his reign as fatal to the church, and dishonourable to the kingdom. In contempt of his actions and of his person, they formed two by-words, or proverbial phrases, which became the *shibboleth* of the day. These were, ' a heart intirely English,' and ' retrieving the nation's honour;' implying, that King William was not a native, and that the honour of the nation had suffered in his hands. But heaven has

avenged his memory in both these, and therefore I take no further notice of it here. (B)

"This heat and fury of the clergy went to that heighth, that even it became ludicrous, and attended with all the little excesses which a person elevated beyond the government of himself by some sudden joy, is usually subject to. And, as a known author remarks, that upon the restoration of King Charles II., the excesses and transports of the clergy and people ran out into revels, may-poles, and all manner of extravagancies; so, at this time, there were more may-poles set up in one year in England, than had been in twenty years before. Ballads for the church was another expression of their zeal, wherein generally, the chorus or burthen of the song was, 'Down with the Presbyterians.' And to such a heighth were things brought, that the Dissenters began to be insulted in every place; their meeting-houses and assemblies assaulted by the mob; and even their ministers and preachers were scarce admitted to pass the streets."*

The frenzy of the people, excited by the bigotry and violence of high-churchmen, reminded many sober people of the times that followed the restoration; and it was the personal character of the sovereign only that prevented them from running to the same excess of riot. By the discouragement that had been given to vice in the late reign, the may-poles mentioned by De Foe, were become innocent ornaments, rather than signals of triumph, or ensigns of drunkenness, and in many places grew quite out of use, so that the custom was become obsolete and forgotten. Of their revival at this time, and the scenes of riot with which they were connected, De Foe, who was an eye-witness, gives the following representation:

"No sooner was King William dead, and the queen come

(B) The queen had used the above expressions in her speech to the parliament.

* Present State of Parties, pp. 15—18.

to the crown, but the gentlemen of the high-church, mistaking her majesty in this, as well as in all the rest of her meaning, began to lay the same foundation of riotous triumph as formerly; for they looked on the queen's coming to the crown as a mere restoration, and were resolved it should restore the crimes as well as the person; of whom they began to value themselves on account of the line, and the divine right of succession: universal revels filled their houses, and general drunkenness began to revive. And I appeal to common knowledge, if in the first half-year of her present majesty, almost all the may-poles in England were not repaired and re-edified, new painted, new hung with garlands, and beautified? And whether there were not more new may-poles erected than had been in twenty years before? Let any man as he goes through a town having a fine painted may-pole, enquire when it was last repaired or set up? and I hold five to one, that 'tis answered in the year 1702. And what was the meaning of it? Not that they could see any hopes in the example of her majesty, to think this vice of drunkenness and revelling should receive any encouragement there. The constant practice of the queen must stop the mouth of such a scandal; and if they had discretion little enough to think so, her majesty has given them room enough since to find their mistake. But the case is plain: They thought the day their own at court, and away they went with the mistake, and immediately fell to concerting measures with the people. Upon this proceeding, up went the may-poles, that the church's health might be drank, till the people not only knew not what they did, but might be ready to do they knew not what, to the demolishing the church's pretended enemies, the Dissenters, and pulling down all manner of union in the nation. Nor were the may-poles in the towns only; but one would have thought they had had may-poles in their heads too, for no men but such as were bewildered in their understandings,

could have been so weak as to think, that when her majesty recommended to them the care of the church, of religion, and the general safety, that therefore all the revelling, the liberty, and a loose to all manner of riot, must be the first demonstration of their obedience to the queen's command."*

These violent proceedings were happily of short continuance. "Upon a discovery of their error," observes De Foe, "her majesty found a necessity, first gently, with her usual goodness and clemency, to admonish and exhort them to peace and union, and to live in amity and charity with their brethren. To remove the alarm which their presumption had caused among the Dissenters, who, not without good grounds, began to look for a storm of persecution, as well as civil oppression, her majesty found it convenient to give the Dissenters a public assurance of her royal protection, and on all occasions to mention her gracious resolution to preserve the Toleration, which her majesty saw was necessary to secure that entire confidence in her general care, which wise princes have found necessary to preserve in all their subjects."†

This conduct of the queen produced great discontent in the high-churchmen, who threw out disrespectful reflections upon their sovereign, accusing her of turning about and deserting the church, which they now represented to be in danger. But, by their absurd proceedings, they dug a pit for themselves, into which they were eventually precipitated. The persons who are supposed to have had the most influence in moderating the measures of the government, were the Earl of Marlborough and Lord Godolphin, who held situations of great trust and importance, and saw the necessity of deserting the high-church party, upon a conviction of the propriety of milder proceedings. Some years afterwards, it was discovered, that Prince George of Denmark, the queen's husband,

* Review, ii. 330, 1. † Ibid, 331.

maintained a great ascendancy over her mind; and the preference which he gave to Whig principles, induced him to add all his weight to their support.*

The influence of the Tories at court, gave a decided character to the proceedings in parliament; but it was in the Commons chiefly that they proved their ascendancy. Notwithstanding the support they had given to the Act of Settlement in the former reign, they now received it with less cordiality; an important clause for the security of the Hanoverian succession being carried by only a single vote. Some political prosecutions that were instituted by both parties under the law of libel, equally manifested the disposition of the Court, and the bias of justice in the different sentences passed upon their respective adherents.

As the Tories had condemned the Partition Treaty, and denounced vengeance upon its authors, it was scarcely to be expected that they would promote a war for the accomplishment of its objects. Upon this point the ministers were divided; but it was a measure now become popular both in and out of parliament, and the influence of Marlborough in all probability turned the scale. In compliance with the general feeling, the queen declared war against France and Spain, the fourth of May, 1702; and the success that marked its progress, shed a splendour over a reign which would otherwise have been chiefly remembered for its domestic broils.

The unsuccessful issue of an expedition that was sent out to Cadiz in the course of this summer, under the command of Sir George Rooke and the Duke of Ormond, furnished De Foe with the subject for a satire, under the title of "The Spanish Descent: a Poem, Lond. 1702," 4to, reprinted in the first volume of his writings. Whatever might have been the intention of the government at home in planning the expe-

* Oldmixon's Hist. Engl. iii. 275, 287.

dition, the management of it could not have been confided to more improper hands; for, with the exception of the Duke of Ormond, scarcely any of the officers were hearty in the cause. "Rooke spoke so coldly of the design he went upon, before he sailed," says Burnet, "that those who conversed with him were apt to infer, that he intended to do the enemy as little harm as possible;" * and his conduct after his arrival upon the Spanish coast, seems to have been quite in harmony with these suspicions. The fourteen thousand men, who were sent to take possession of Cadiz, never effected a landing; but, after hovering upon the coast for two months, and undertaking some enterprizes of little moment, returned to England, to reserve their glory for future occasions. The clamour that was now rising fast in England, in consequence of this miscarriage, was only arrested by the timely success of the fleet upon its return home; for the admiral hearing that there were some Spanish galleons richly laden in the harbour of Vigo, faced about, and making for that point, succeeded in taking or destroying the whole, together with some French ships that were also lying there. This seasonable event was a great relief to the government; so that the commanders were well received upon their return, and the matter passed off with the publication of a few lampoons, of which De Foe's poem on "The Spanish Descent," was one.

In the preceding reign, an act was passed to continue the sitting of parliament in case of the demise of the crown, but limiting its duration to six months. The measure was considered necessary in consequence of the existence of a pretender, supported by a powerful party in the nation; but the succession having taken place in a peaceable manner, it was dissolved the second of July, and a new one summoned for the twentieth of the ensuing month. In the mean time, the elections were carried on with great warmth and conten-

* Burnet's Own Time, iii. 456.

tion, but with a visible advantage by the church or Tory party, which was in a great measure owing to the countenance and encouragement of the court. To this may be added, that impositions of an artful nature were practised upon the people to procure the return of court candidates, and the most bare-faced partiality was discovered, not only in the return of members, but also in the subsequent decisions upon controverted elections. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Tories, as Bishop Burnet relates, at least doubled the number of the Whigs.

In consequence of the illness of the queen, and her journey to Bath, the meeting of the new parliament was postponed until the twentieth of October, when Mr. Harley was a third time chosen Speaker. Such an occurrence was almost without a precedent; but men of all parties, it is said, had such an opinion of his abilities and his integrity, that he was generally approved of by the whole House.* The bad disposition of the Commons began to manifest itself early in the session; for, in their address to the queen, in answer to her speech, they told her, that by the wisdom of her councils, and the success of her arms, "she had signally *Retrieved* the ancient honour and glory of the English nation." This oblique reflection upon King William was the more remarkable, as it was delivered in the face of the late failure at Cadiz, which had been alluded to in the address. The aspersion, however, was as unjust as it was ungenerous: "For, besides that no King of England had ever fought so many battles in defence of our country, against France, and done so many great actions in person, the success of her majesty's arms, and the support of her allies, were in a great measure owing to his late majesty's schemes and counsels."† His friends, jealous of his honour, moved to substitute the word *maintained*, for *retrieved;* but, after a warm debate, the

* Cunningham, i. 311. † Boyer's Queen Anne, p. 37.

proposition was rejected by a large majority. This unmannerly treatment of our deliverer, was finely satirized by Mr. Walsh, member of parliament for Worcestershire, in his poem intitled, "The Golden Age Restored:"

"Now all our factions, all our fears shall cease,
And Tories rule the promised land in peace.
Malice shall die, and noxious poison fail;
Harley shall cease to trick, and Seymour cease to rail.
The lambs shall with the lions walk unhurt,
And Halifax with How meet civilly at court.
Viceroys, like Providence, with distant care,
Shall govern kingdoms where they ne'er appear. (c)
Pacific admirals to save the fleet,
Shall fly from conquest, and shall conquest meet.
Commanders shall be praised at WILLIAM'S cost,
And honour be RETRIEVED, before 'tis lost.

Amongst the projects entertained by the Tories for amusing the people, and prepossessing them in favour of their absurd politics, was the revival of a farce which had been often acted before the Revolution, but was then dropped.

It is well known that the kings of England had for many centuries pretended to the power of curing scrofulous complaints, which they are said to have derived from Edward the Confessor. In what way he came into possession of the gift, historians have not informed us; but the monks who procured him to be canonized for a saint, and are loud in their praises of his piety, as they might have been of his liberality, have left a singular account of his first exploit in this way, which is related with great gravity and exemplary faith by Jeremy Collier.*

Upon the accession of Queen Anne, the Tories, who wished to ground her title to the crown upon her lineal descent, rather than upon parliamentary right, were desirous

(c) Alluding to the Earl of Rochester, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, who resided at court, and served his office by deputy.

* Collier's Eccles. Hist. i. 225.

that she should assist the faith of the people in their foolish theories, by reviving the ceremony of the royal touch. It was rather unfortunate for the cause of these crafty politicians, that the Confessor himself, who was the first that possessed these sanative powers, gave the lie to their doctrine, being out of the right line of succession, which amongst the Saxons was not strictly hereditary. It is also very clear from the monkish writers, that he obtained this miraculous gift in consequence of his saintly, rather than his royal virtues, which were of a slender description. It also appears, that his power of healing was not confined to scrofula, he being equally dexterous in restoring sight to the blind, and in removing barrenness from women. But whatever virtues were possessed or communicated by the Confessor, it is not pretended that the whole of them wre transmitted in regular succession; nor is it very clear how any of them could be inherited by some of his successors, who, certainly, were very far from being saints, and yet exercised the heavenly gift of healing.

Queen Elizabeth is said to have performed successfully upon an unlucky Catholic who had been thrown into prison for his religion, and was cured at the same time of his disease and of his recusancy.* It was in the reign of this princess that Dr. Tooker published his book in vindication of the miraculous gift of healing; in which he says, "The Queen cures every day, as often and when she pleases, abundance of miserable people of all ages, sexes and ranks, afflicted with the King's evil, and restores them by her touch alone to perfect health; that it was the same thing to her whether an infant or an old person, whether man or woman, and whether it be a new or an old disease." Tooker's book produced an answer from M. A. Debrius, a Jesuit, who doubts the

* Collier, *ut supra*.

truth of his assertions; and with him, says Anthony Wood, agree most fanatics! *

If we are to credit the legends of the times, the royal martyr out-stripped all his predecessors in miraculous gifts, not excepting the renowned St. Edward himself; and therefore has as good a title to be enrolled in the catalogue of saints. Upon this subject, let a grave practitioner speak: "Our ever blessed King Charles the First hath been allowed by all authors that have wrote since his time on the cure of the *Evil*, by the *royal touch*, to have excelled all his predecessors in that divine gift, for it is manifest beyond all contradiction, that he not only cured by his sacred touch, both with and without gold, but likewise perfectly effected the same cure by his prayer and benediction only. For proof of which I shall only transcribe a letter from Dr. John Nicholas, warden of Winchester College, relating a most miraculous cure, which he knew within his own knowledge to be every word of it essentially true." The narrative is too long for transcription, but the substance of it is as follows: That one Robert Cole, an inn-keeper at Winchester, was highly diseased and in daily fear of suffocation; that having sought for relief in vain from the use of medicine, he resolved to throw himself at the royal feet, as the king passed through Winchester in his way from the Isle of Wight; that his approaches to royalty were interrupted by the unmannerly and unbelieving soldiers, who barbarously struck him, and allowed him no opportunity to come within the King's reach; that the loyal patient, in despair and on bended knees, loudly vociferated God save the King, and was so importunate in his cries as to attract the royal notice. "And since the king could not be hindered from reaching him with his prayers, he gave the weak and now despairing

* Athenæ Oxon. i. 455.

man his blessing in the like words to these: Friend, I see thou art not permitted to come near me, and I cannot tell what thou wouldst have, but God bless thee and grant thy desire." The result will be easily anticipated: The man got well; but the progress of his cure was equally remarkable. From this time, the liquid that he had been in the habit of applying to his wounds gradually wasted away, until it was dried up, and the unfortunate bottle that held it received the blotches and sores from the man's body, being visible in the excrescences that budded out from its sides; and so great was the sympathy between the bottle and the man's face, that when the former was injured through the prying curiosity of the public, the latter suffered; which occasioned him to be more reserved in its exhibition, and to be very choice in its preservation.* When such tales are reported for our credence by grave doctors in divinity and practitioners in medicine, who will say that our faith is too heavily taxed by the legends of St. Dennis and St. Dunstan, or other heroes of saintly fame!

But if heaven bestowed its choicest gifts upon saints and martyrs, it was scarcely to be expected that it would be so bountiful to rakes. Yet, if we are to believe the like grave authorities, no prince ever performed more cures of the kind than the son of the before-mentioned king, who, whatever might be his other qualities, had but indifferent pretensions to saintship.

The enchantment, which had been broken by the civil wars, received new impulse from the restoration. Happy in possessing so important a credential of legitimacy, Charles II. made frequent exhibitions of it for the benefit of his subjects, who flocked in shoals to avail themselves of the healing virtues which he inherited from St. Edward.

* Badger's Collection of Remarkable Cures, pp. 27—32.

Whether these were attracted by the gold that was dispensed upon the occasion, or by faith in the royal touch, it is immaterial to inquire; suffice it to say, that the cures were performed, or at least were thought to be so, by many at the time. One of the royal surgeons says, "That the gift of healing is a truth as clear as the sun;" and that amongst the many blessings bestowed upon his Majesty, "This sanative faculty should be reckoned one, which doth denote his right, title and merit, and as a second gift from heaven, by those many thousands cured by him since his happy restoration." In proof of the saintly pretensions of this prince, the author says, that "When poor indigent souls had sought out remedy from physicians in vain, such afterwards who have come and obtained his Majesty's gracious touch, their diseases have been seen to vanish as being afraid to approach his royal hand." He adds, "Many of these have been relieved before they had got out of the Banquetting House; and some that have been brought in, both lame and blind, have recovered their limbs and sight in a very short time!"* This king is said to have touched more than 100,000 persons.

The gift of healing was preserved unimpaired in the person of James II., who, as appears by various parish registers, applied the royal touch to several persons; and no doubt with the same success as his royal predecessors. His son, as Mr. Carte informs us, operated also for the same malady; although the historian was as unfortunate in his story as in the consequences of its relation.† King William being an alien, and having no faith in the spell, did not practise it; but it was revived with the return of the Stuarts. Queen Anne, by the desire of her ministers, began to touch for the *evil* soon after her accession, and continued the farce during the whole of her reign. In most of the prayer books pub-

* Brown's *Charisma Basilicon*, p. 2, 4, 6, &c.

† Hist. Engl. i. 291, *n*.

lished at this period, there is a proper ritual appointed for the occasion. One of the last persons she performed upon was the celebrated Dr. Johnson, then an infant, and labouring under the malady. His mother, in compliance with the prejudices of the times, took him to the queen, "who, with her accustomed grace and benignity, administered to the child as much of that healing quality as it was in her power to dispense, and hung about his neck the usual amulet of an angel of gold, with the impress of St. Michael the archangel on the one side, and a ship under full sail on the other." In this case, the charm failed of success; for the doctor was afflicted with the disease through a long life.* The queen is said to have touched two hundred persons the same day, which was the 30th of March, 1714.

That the spell succeeded in some particular instances may be inferred from the number of cures that are placed upon record. At the same time, but little reliance is to be placed upon the pompous narratives of credulous divines and court-surgeons, who seasoned their writings with large doses of flattery, and are to be strongly suspected of knavery.

As to the mode by which it may have occasionally succeeded, there is but one rational solution, which is thus pointed out by De Foe: "The power of imagination, fancy, conceit, or faith, call it which you will, have all of them their particular influences in cases of disease, and some very strong natural reasons are given for it. There can remain, therefore, no doubt but that their contrary influences are also very strong; and he who firmly believes he shall not be cured, shall as certainly not be cured, as he that fancies he shall be cured, shall have the cure." De Foe continues, "If some of our kings have omitted it wholly, such as the late King William, it is plain to me, his majesty had not equal faith in the power of curing it, and did not think fit

* Hawkins's Life of Johnson, p. 4.

to attempt it without the most material qualification."* Whiston tells us in his "Memoirs," he had been lately informed, that King William was prevailed upon once to touch for the king's evil, "praying to God to heal the patient, and grant him more wisdom at the same time;" which, he adds, implied that he had no great faith in the operation: yet was the patient cured notwithstanding.†

* Review, i. Supp. 3, p. 16. † Whiston's Memoirs, p. 653.

CHAPTER II.

Thirtieth of January Preachers.—Satirized by De Foe in his New Test of the Church of England's Loyalty.—Account of his Work.—Animadverted upon by Leslie and Drake.—Rise of the Distinction between High and Low Church.—Sacheverell's violent Politics.—Strictures upon them by De Foe.—And Dennis.—Leslie's New Association.—His Case of the Regale and the Pontificate.—And Scheme for an Union with the Gallican Church.—De Foe's Remarks upon it.—Proceedings of the Commons against the Dissenters.

1702.

WHILST the queen was engaged in adjusting the materials of a Tory government, and the latter was concerting schemes for the annihilation of its rivals, the press was not inactive in exposing the pretensions of the two great political parties that divided the nation.

In this war of politics, the clergy took a prominent lead. Each return of the thirtieth of January afforded them a fine opportunity for the discharge of their gall against Whigs and Dissenters, who became obnoxious to the reproach of rebels and schismatics, and were threatened with all the vengeance which the most martial church could inflict. In some of their sermons, they drew the most offensive parallels between the sufferings of Christ, and those of the royal martyr, the last of which they magnified in strains that denoted the utmost loyalty. Comparisons were also drawn between the agents of the two transactions, in the course of which the loyalty of the preachers often transported them beyond the bounds of decorum, and was thought to have

ensnared them into the paths of blasphemy. Dr. Binkes, who had offended in this way in his late sermon before the convocation, received the censure of parliament; but as his politics were in fashion, it did not hinder his preferment, being soon afterwards promoted to the deanery of Lichfield, and chosen prolocutor of the lower house of convocation.

The absurd notions of government, propagated by the clergy, afforded a fruitful topic for the pen of De Foe. Soon after the accession of the queen, he commenced his attack upon them in a pamphlet intitled, "A New Test of the Church of England's Loyalty: or, Whiggish Loyalty and Church Loyalty Compared. Printed in the year 1702." 4to. In illustration of the politics of the day, he produces some extracts from the sermons of the high-church clergy, which are of a sufficiently slavish character. The following from Dr. B——ge, is suited to the meridian of an eastern despotism. "That if the king should, by his royal command, execute the greatest violence upon either our person or estate, our duty is to submit by prayers and tears, first to God Almighty, to turn the wrath of his vice-gerent, and by humble entreaty to beg his majesty's grace and pardon: but to lift up the hand against the lord's anointed, or resist the evil of punishment he thinks fit to inflict, this were a crime unpardonable either before God or man, and a crime which, we bless God," says the Rev. Doctor, "the very principles of our ever loyal mother, the church of England, abhors and detests."

In reply to this clerical scare-crow, De Foe argues, that the government of England is a limited monarchy, composed of king, lords, and commons, each having its separate powers, which are defined and limited by law: that government and allegiance are both conditional, the oaths of subjects being of a constructive nature, intitling them to protection, which, without question, is the real meaning of all oaths of allegiance, otherwise perjury or state martyr-

dom would be the consequence. He shews, that before the Reformation, the present Church of England party were the Dissenters, schismatics, and fanatics, who were persecuted, and some of them put to death for not going to church; but when they gained the ascendancy, they forgot "that they had found it righteous in the sight of God, to obey God rather than man," and treated those who could not conscientiously conform, with the same contempt which they themselves had received from the Romish hierarchy. Adverting to later times, he says, "Nor shall I return to the ill-usage the Dissenters have received for above thirty years; the constant reproaches they and their children after them have met with from these gentlemen, who, on all occasions, have taken particular care to extol their own unshaken fidelity to their prince, till at last an occasion presents to touch them in the most sensible part, their rights and property; and, alas! their loyalty, what became of it? Truly, the faithful, passively obedient, unshaken loyal church returned to the original nature of their neighbours, and did the same thing exactly, which the Whigs had done before."

In running the parallel between the conduct of churchmen towards James II., and that of their adversaries in the civil wars, De Foe says, "For my part, I think the difference lies only here: the Whigs, in 1641, took up arms against their king, and having conquered and taken him prisoner, cut off his head, *because they had him;* the Church of England took up arms against their king in 1688, and did not cut off his head, *because they had him not:* the one lost his life because he was taken; the other lost it not because he ran away." The nice distinction set up by the Tories, De Foe considers as no better than a jest; since every bullet which churchmen fired at the battle of the Boyne, was no better than shooting at the king, and directly in the face of their oath, "That it is not lawful to take up

arms against the king upon any pretence whatever." From hence, he takes occasion to propose the following dilemma: "Either that the doctrine of absolute passive obedience is an absurdity in itself, contradictory to the nature of government, and politically introduced into the church to abuse her, and betray her members into unforeseen mischiefs and inconveniences: or, that the members of the Church of England are all apostates from the very fundamental doctrines of their church, perjured in the sight of God and man, notorious hypocrites and deceivers; who having sworn obedience without reserve to their prince, are become traitors, rebels, and murtherers of the Lord's anointed, and not having the fear of God before their eyes, have deposed and traitorously dethroned their rightful king, the undoubted sole lord of them and their country."

In describing the politics of Whigs and Dissenters, De Foe gives us his own. "It has always been their opinion," says he, "that government was originally contrived by the consent and for the mutual benefit of the parties governed; that the people have an original native right to the liberty of their persons and possessions, unless forefaulted to the law; that they cannot be divested of this right but by their own consent; that all invasion of this right is destructive of the constitution, and dissolves the compact of government and obedience." This, he tells us, has been the avowed doctrine of the Dissenters, and is, indeed, the true sense of the constitution itself. "Pursuant to this doctrine," he observes, "they thought they had a right to oppose violence with force; believing, that when kings break coronation-oaths, the solemn compact with their people, and encroach upon their civil rights contrary to the laws of the land by which they are sworn to rule, they cease to be the Lord's anointed, the sanction of their office is vanished, and they become tyrants and enemies of mankind, and may be treated accordingly."

There were at least two editions of De Foe's pamphlet in the course of the year; and if we may judge from the report of his antagonists, it excited considerable attention. Leslie calls it, "the most bitter and spiteful invective against the Church of England, that has come out since the Revolution;"* but it is evident that he mistakes the drift of his argument. Dr. Drake, whose name has already appeared in support of Toryism, attacked our author in "Some Cursory Considerations relating to all future Elections of Members to serve in Parliament, humbly offered to all Electors, whether they be true sons of the Church of England, as by Law established, or Modest Protestant Dissenters; to which is added, a list and account of 167 good Patriots, lately traduced in a scandalous libel, commonly called 'The Black List.' As also a List of 223 Honest Gentlemen who signalized themselves in the Defence of the Rights of the Commons of England in the point of Impeachments. With the Addition of a Preface in Answer to a Pamphlet called, 'A New Test of the Church of England's Loyalty, &c. Lond. 1702.'" The matter contained in the work bearing this long title is not of a very formidable nature; nor does the author's preface invalidate the charges brought forward by the writer he attacks. Mrs. Eleanor James, the widow of a printer, and a woman of great eccentricity, published a reply to De Foe's pamphlet, under the title of "A Vindication of the Church of England, &c."

It was about this time, that the distinction of *High* and *Low Church* began to be generally adopted, in order to distinguish the two political parties into which churchmen were divided. Those who were inimical to rational liberty, who held up the standard of persecution, and patronized violent measures, were called *High Churchmen*, and some of them gloried in the name; whilst "All that treated the Dissenters

* Rehearsal, ii. 82.

with temper and moderation, who were for residing constantly at their cures, and for labouring diligently in them; that expressed zeal against the Prince of Wales, and for the Revolution; that wished well to the present war, and to the alliance against France, were represented as secret favourers of Presbytery, and as ill affected to the church, and were called *Low Churchmen*. It was said, that they were in the church only while the law and preferments were on its side; but that they were ready to give it up as soon as they saw a proper time for declaring themselves. "With this false and invidious character," says Burnet, "did the high party endeavour to load all those who could not be brought into their measures and designs." * These symbols of party gave rise to the hottest disputes within the bosom of the church; and were continued with the utmost violence through the whole of this reign.

Sacheverell, the organ of the high party, now distilled his venom in a sermon preached before the University of Oxford, and printed with the *imprimatur* of the Vice-Chancellor, dated June 2, 1702. It is intitled "The Political Union: a Discourse, shewing the dependence of Government on Religion in general; and of the English Monarchy or the Church of England in particular." The arrogant pretensions of this ecclesiastic, his subjection of the civil to the ecclesiastical authority, his reflections upon the toleration, and the excessive absurdity of his opinions in general, would have consigned him in any other age to the chastisement of contempt; but the spirit of persecution which he was now exciting with so much industry in the members of his church, was a just foundation for alarm to other sects, and rendered him a public enemy. In the following passage, which gave such just offence, he chimes in with the Lauds and Bonners of former days. "Men must be strange infatuated sots

* Burnet's Own Time, iii. 484.

and bigots to be so much in love with their ruin, as to seek and court it: and it is as unaccountable and amazing a contradiction to our reason, as the greatest reproach and scandal upon our church, however others may be seduced or misled, that any pretending to that sacred and inviolable character of being her true sons, pillars, and defenders, should turn such apostates and renegadoes to their oaths and professions, such false traitors to their trusts and offices, as to strike sail with a party that is such an open and avowed enemy to our communion; and against whom, every man that wishes its welfare, *ought to hang out the bloody flag, and banner of defiance.* But in this, as well as most other circumstances, both our church and state share the same common fate, that they can be ruined by none but themselves; and that if ever they receive a mortal stab or wound, it must be in the house of their friends."

It was this publication, in connection with some others of a similar tendency, that stirred up De Foe sometime afterwards to write his "Shortest Way," the account of which will be reserved for a distinct chapter. In one of his "Reviews," he bestows upon it the following notice. "One of the furious spreaders of sedition had the face, even in a pulpit of the Church of England, to declare that no man could be a true friend to the church that did not lift up a standard of defiance against all the Dissenters, although then tolerated by the law of England. This doctrine was immediately pointed at the queen, who had promised to preserve the toleration; which promise the same person horribly expounds to be inconsistent with her majesty's former engagements to preserve the church: yet this unexampled insolence received a farther sanction by being spread over the whole nation, with an imprimatur or licence and approbation from the whole University of Oxford, under the signature of the Vice-Chancellor of that University." *

* Review, ii. 406.

An answer to Sacheverell's sermon was published not long afterwards by Dennis, the critic, under the title of "The Danger of Priestcraft to Religion and Government, with some Politick Reasons for a Toleration, &c. In a Letter to a newly-elected Member of Parliament. Lond. 1702." This pamphlet being well written and much read, a new edition was speedily called for, and obtained a wide circulation. This was greatly facilitated by its cheapness, being published at the low price of three-pence; "a method," says a Tory writer, "of late much made use of for propagating what is thought most material to instil into the mob; and, accordingly, this pamphlet is so effectually dispersed, that few of the fanatics, or Commonwealth's-men want it in their pockets, to recommend it every where."*

The wholesome truths propounded by Dennis, being calculated to shake the confidence of the people in the high-party, one of them drew up a dull pamphlet, by way of reply, called "The New Association of those called Moderate Churchmen, with the Modern Whigs and Fanaticks, to undermine and blow up the present Church and Government. Occasioned by a late Pamphlet, intitled, 'The Danger of Priestcraft, &c.' With a Supplement, on Occasion of the New Scotch Presbyterian Covenant. By a True Churchman. Lond. 1702." 4to. The author of this abusive performance was Charles Leslie, the *Coryphæus* of his party; and his work must also have had a considerable run, as it passed in the same year to a third edition. With the most contracted notions upon religion and government, and a mind strongly possessed by bigotry, he takes no pains to conceal the intentions of his party, which were to overthrow the toleration, to deprive the Dissenters of their political rights, even to the elective franchise; and if they were not contented, to prohibit their worship, and treat them after

* New Association, &c., p. 2.

the fashion of the heathen emperors towards the primitive Christians. The style of Leslie partook of the qualities of his mind, which were coarse and crabbed in the extreme, as may be seen by his writings. How they could ever attain to popularity, is a problem not easily solved; for they present a compound of folly and extravagance, and breathe all the arrogant pretensions of a violent political maniac. In the next year, Leslie added a second part to "The New Association," in which he fell upon De Foe, as will be seen in its proper place.

Before the end of the year, Leslie published another work, which De Foe often animadverts upon in his "Review." It is intitled, "The case of the Regale and of the Pontificate stated, in a Conference concerning the Independency of the Church upon any power on earth, in the Exercise of her Purely Spiritual Power and Authority. Lond. 1702." 8vo. Leslie also published "A Supplement, in Answer to a Book, intitled, 'the Royal Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Affairs asserted, in a Discourse, occasioned by the Regale and Pontificate.'" These works formed part of a controversy which was then warmly agitated, concerning the power of Christian princes in ecclesiastical matters. Wake, Hody, and Kennet, had supported their claims with much learning; whilst Atterbury and others had advocated the contrary side with equal acuteness and ability. But an appeal to precedent, upon a subject that involved the dearest rights of mankind, and was to be decided by reason rather than usage, seemed a useless waste of learning and paper. In the treatises above mentioned, Leslie advocates the independency of the church, and rejects the authority of the civil power in any of her concerns. Much as this doctrine is at variance with the legal establishments of this kingdom, it would admit of an easy defence; but the principle followed out would carry us much farther than was intended by that writer. Leslie's church, like that of Rome, is a sovereign

power exalted above the state, having a separate jurisdiction, and armed with civil pains and penalties for the punishment of those who scruple the wisdom or justice of her dictates. Such a church is neither more nor less than an *imperium in imperio*, and as adverse to the genius of Christianity, as to the interests of civil society.

A favourite project with Leslie, was an union with the Gallican church; but however it might have weakened the authority of the Pope, it had a threatening aspect upon civil liberty, and was more flattering to the pride of ecclesiastics, than to the free course of religion and learning. In allusion to this scheme, De Foe says, "To suggest that the difference between the Church of England, and the Gallican Church of Rome is but small, and that the Church of England may be easily reconciled, is a horrid plot upon the reputation of that church, which all men, who have any regard for the present religious establishment of the nation, will think themselves obliged to vindicate." But, adds De Foe, "There must be something more in this apparition than we can yet understand. And here must lie the *Deceptio visus*. When this author talks of a reconciliation between the Gallican Church and the Church of England, he must mean that part of the church that espouses the cause and title of an abdicated Popish race, and would be content to see a Popish prince become the Defender of the Protestant faith. An identity of practice may soon reconcile them to an identity of principle, and thus the riddle is expounded." Upon the effect produced by it, our author observes, "'Tis matter of fact, that no man has ever answered this scandalous proposal, nor vindicated the Church of England; but the notion grows upon the members of the church, many of whom have already learned to say in their common discourse, that they had rather be Papists than Presbyterians; that is, than Protestant Dissenters." In allusion to a work so full of paradox, De Foe says, "It is a book calculated for the

ruin and exposure of the Church of England, and to prepare the minds of men to be yet farther separated from her. If there be more probability of her going back again to Popery, than of her coming to a further reformation, who would join with such a church? Certainly, nobody but he that can with her go back to Popery."* The version here given of Leslie's scheme is confirmed by a letter, which he wrote some years afterwards from Bar-le-Duc, the court of the Pretender, in which he gives a pompous description of his person and character, and in the event of another Restoration, proposes the establishment of a commission for the disposal of ecclesiastical preferments; but, in his anxiety for the security of the church, he overlooks that which is of far higher value to man, the preservation of public liberty.

In this hostile attitude were political parties at the commencement of the queen's reign; exhausting their temper as well as language, in a fruitless warfare, that yielded but little satisfaction to any of the combatants. The senate, the pulpit, and the press, were alternately employed in argument and invective, exciting the worst passions in the people, and preparing them for the commission of all manner of excesses. De Foe observes, "Though this was a war of intrigue, and was carried on by pen and ink, plot, council, and cabal, and not by sword and gun, yet I believe it will be allowed it was a fatal strife, and was grown up to such a heighth, that it involved the whole nation, and the party flame had almost burnt up all our peace."†

The little inclination of the ministry to conciliate the people by moderate measures, was conspicuous in one of their earliest proceedings in parliament; for the Commons had not sat many days before they introduced a bill for the prevention of Occasional Conformity, with the intention of wholly interdicting the Dissenters from the service of

* Review, ii. 307, 354, 360. † Review, iii. 159.

the crown. The motive for this measure is thus briefly stated by an historian of the time. "The Act of Toleration, passed in the first year of King William and Queen Mary, in favour of Protestant Dissenters, was a great eye-sore to some of the high-church party, chiefly because it strengthened the hands of the well affected to the Protestant succession, and therefore they resolved to improve the first opportunity that should offer to render that law ineffectual. This could hardly be expected as long as the great deliverer of these nations sat upon the throne; but he had not been laid many months in the grave, when, upon pretence that Sir Humphrey Edwin, Lord Mayor of London in the year 1697, went once to a conventicle with the city sword, Mr. William Bromley made a motion for the bringing in a bill for preventing Occasional Conformity, which was ordered to be brought in accordingly."* As it was a subject that occupied a large share of the public attention in this reign, and occasioned a long controversy, in which De Foe figured as a leading actor, the consideration of it must be reserved for the next chapter.

* Boyer's Queen Anne, p. 38.

CHAPTER III.

Controversy concerning Occasional Conformity.—Origin of the Practice.—De Foe addresses a Pamphlet upon the Subject to Mr. Howe.—Its temperate Character.—Mr. Howe's Reply.—Remarks upon the Controversy.—De Foe returns to it in a Second Pamphlet.—His Respect for his Antagonist.—Vindicates his own Character.—And Corrects Mr. Howe's Mis-statement of his Principles.—And Motives.—Declaration of his Sincerity.—Mr. Howe's Letter to a Person of Honour.—Pamphlets against the Dissenters.—The Queen's Speech to her Parliament.—Flattering Reply of the Commons.—Introduction of the Bill to Prevent Occasional Conformity.—Passes the Commons.—Spirit that pervaded the Public.—De Foe's Reflections upon the Measure.—Defeated by the Lords' Amendments.—Preaching of the Clergy.—De Foe's Account of the Origin of the Bill.—And of the Effect of Intolerance.—He Publishes an Enquiry into Occasional Conformity.—Represents the Hardships of the Dissenters.—Satirizes their Opponents.

1702.

THOSE who have taken the pains to investigate the history of ecclesiastical affairs in this country, are aware, that by the Act of Uniformity, passed in 1662, about two thousand clergymen of approved character, and many of them possessing considerable talents, were removed from their benefices for want of an entire conformity to all the rites and ceremonies of the episcopal church; and that many more were rendered incapable of sustaining any office or dignity upon the same account. The hardship of such a law, as it bore upon so many individuals who had been educated expressly for the cure of souls, and were thereby rendered in a great measure incapable of following any other occupation, was peculiarly great; and as it originated in a misguided zeal, in unison

with a depraved policy, the sanction it received from the men of those times was unworthy of their high-sounding pretensions to the name and character of Christians.

In the course of the same reign, other laws were enacted to meet the case of the laity, to prohibit their assembling for worship in any other places than those recognized by law, and to incapacitate them from holding civil offices, unless they communicated with the established church. As the rigid enforcement of these laws, in the sense designed by those who projected them, would have gone far towards the destruction of trade, and the annihilation of the civil rights of Englishmen, means were devised to evade their force by the practice of occasional conformity; that is, by frequenting the established places of worship for official purposes, and at other times those of the Non-conformists. Some of their ministers, also, actuated by motives of charity and forbearance, occasionally practised ministerial conformity. Those who indulged in this latitude, were chiefly of the Presbyterian denomination, which then comprised the great body of Dissenters, and the practice was sanctioned by the names of Bates, Howe, Baxter, Philip Henry, and others; but there were some who maintained their non-conforming principles with greater strictness, and disallowed the practice. Of this number was De Foe.

After the Revolution, when the Dissenters began to build spacious meeting-houses in public situations, which were frequented by the members of corporations, and other persons in official employments, as well as by some of the nobility and gentry, the jealousy of the high-church party was raised to indignation, and they determined to give them no rest until they had withdrawn from their ranks, by legal enactments, all those persons who were capable of giving them any consequence in the state. The protection of King William, who was himself a Presbyterian, but had too much good sense to lend himself to one party of his subjects

against another, prevented them from succeeding during his reign; but he was no sooner dead, than their hopes revived, and their first attack upon the toleration was the bill against occasional conformity.

The rise of the controversy has been noticed in a former chapter, together with De Foe's publication upon the subject. This tract he afterwards reprinted, under the title of "An Enquiry into the Occasional Conformity of Dissenters in Cases of Preferment. With a Preface to Mr. Howe. London: Printed *Anno Dom.* 1701." 4to. De Foe placed the following motto in his title: "If the Lord be God, follow him; but if Baal, then follow him. 1 Kings, xviii. 21." The reason of his addressing the work to Mr. Howe, was this: Sir Thomas Abney, the Lord-Mayor of London for that year, who was a member of his congregation, had revived the practice of occasional conformity, which De Foe had before censured in Sir Humphrey Edwin. This suggested to him the propriety of calling upon his pastor, either to vindicate the practice, or declare against it. Sir John Shorter, he tells us, was the first instance of it. "But it is now growing a received custom, to the great scandal of the Dissenters in general, the offence of such whose consciences forbid them the same latitude, and the stumbling of those who, being before weak and irresolute, are led aside by the eminency and frequency of examples." Addressing Mr. Howe, he says, "If you knew the author, you would easily be satisfied that the reason of this preface is not that he covets to engage in controversy with a person of your capacity and learning, being altogether unfit for such a task, and no way a match to your talent that way. But he desires, in the name of himself and a great many honest good Christians, who would be glad to see this case decided, that you will by yourself, or some other hand, declare to the world, whether this practice of alternate communion be allowed, either by your congregation in particular, or the

Dissenters in general. And if not so allowed, then he conjures you by the honour you owe to your profession, and the tenderness you have for the weakness of others; by the regard you have to God's honour, and the church you serve, that such proceedings may receive their due censure, though the persons wear the gay clothes and the gold ring; that the sincerity and purity of Dissenting Protestants may be vindicated to the world, both in their discipline as well as doctrine; and that without respect of persons. If, on the other hand, it be allowed, 'tis desired it may be defended by such arguments as you think convenient; which the author promises, if desired, never to reply to; or if you give him that liberty, shall do it so as you shall easily see is in order only to be informed, and always suitable to the respect which is due to your person; for whom none has a greater esteem. If none of these requests shall be granted, the world must believe that Dissenters do allow themselves to practise what they cannot defend."

Dr. Calamy intimates that Mr. Howe did not much care to enter upon the argument with one of so warm a temper as the author of the "Enquiry," and contented himself with a short reply to him in a small pamphlet, intitled, "Some Consideration of a Preface to an Enquiry concerning the Occasional Conformity of Dissenters, &c. By John Howe, minister of the Gospel, to whom that Preface, as he conceives, is addressed. Lond. 1701." 4to. In this work, continues Dr. Calamy, he tells the Prefacer, "That he had for a long time an habitual aversion to perplexing himself or disturbing others with the controversies concerning the circumstantials of religion; that he had contented himself with the best means he could be furnished with for settling his judgment, so far as was necessary for his own practice; and that in following his judgment, he carefully abstained from censuring others who took a different way from him, being sensible that every one must give an account of himself to

God, who will not animadvert with severity upon a weak and merely misguided judgment."* Notwithstanding the liberality of these sentiments, they were beside the question, which the aspect of the times had rendered of some importance. Mr. Howe was a minister of eminent learning and abilities, and of an excellent character; but in his controversy with De Foe he gained no credit. Instead of entering regularly into the argument, he rather avoids it, and contents himself with an indirect apology for occasional conformity. He was displeased with De Foe for having publicly connected his name with the subject, and unhappily loses his temper in the expression of that disapprobation. This was the less called for, as De Foe addresses him in very civil terms, and pronounces a just eulogy upon his merits.

Finding himself treated in this unceremonious manner, De Foe thought he was called upon to rejoin; which he did in "A Letter to Mr. Howe, by way of Reply to his Considerations of the Preface to an Enquiry into the Occasional Conformity of Dissenters. Lond. 1701." 4to. In this tract he defends himself with becoming spirit; but still preserves his respect for his antagonist. "When I addressed the Preface to you," says he, "I thought I had so carefully revised both it and the book, that, as I mentioned to you, I could no where be taxed with exceeding the rules of charity and good manners. And though I would always make them both my rule, yet I thought myself obliged to it more now than ordinary, by how much the person to whom, and the persons of whom I wrote, were equally known, and very much valued by me; and I did not question but I should either not be replied to at all, or it would be done with the charity of a Christian, the civility of a gentleman, and the force and vigour of a scholar." But as Mr. Howe

* Calamy's Life of Howe, p. 210.

had descended to personalities in his pamphlet, De Foe thought himself entitled to be freer with him than usual.

Mr. Howe having censured him for concealing his name, De Foe replies, "'Tis true, Sir, I have chosen to conceal my name; and though 'bating human frailties and misfortunes, I know no reason why the argument should be ashamed of the author, or the author of the argument, yet, when I considered how constant a practice it is in the world to answer an argument with recriminations instead of reasonings, I thought it best to continue retired, that the case I had entered upon might not come clogged with the dead weight of the meanness and imperfections of the author. But to let you know that I am not altogether so shy of my name as you imagine, I shall give you a genuine, honest account of myself, and then my name is at your service. First, Sir, I am to tell you, that I am, and acknowledge myself to be, possessed with a strong aversion to doubling and shifting in points of religion, and do think that the case in hand is to be allowed no less; and therefore I wrote the Enquiry with two very honest designs, viz. To see if by strength of argument I could receive satisfaction; and as far as in me lies, to oppose the practice. Secondly, had your book given me, or any body else that I can meet with, whose judgment is to be valued, the satisfaction I desired, I assure you, I am so little fond of an opinion because it is mine, that I should not have been ashamed to have owned myself mistaken; and possibly have shown as much humility in acknowledging it, as you think I have pride in opposing. As to personal miscarriages and misfortunes, of which no man has more, and which, perhaps, may weaken the reputation of the author, but I am sure not of his argument, to them I shall only say, God in his merciful providence has healed the last, and I hope has pardoned the first; and, if so, I am upon even terms in point of reasoning. By this you may see I am sensible of the beam in my own eye, and have for some

years taken up the part of a penitent on that very account; but did never understand that thereby I was barred from inquiring into what I judged scandalous to the profession of a party in general, of whom, though unworthy, I was a member."

Mr. Howe having mistaken his religious profession by representing him as an Independent and a Fifth Monarchy man, De Foe observes, "I own myself somewhat surprised to see you run on in answering the scrupulous Independent about kneeling at the sacrament, and the extravagant Fifth Monarchy man about seizing the properties of mankind for the use of the saints; and such things as these, by way of reply to an Enquiry about occasional promiscuous conformity; and am still at a loss to find an antecedent to this relative. I assure you I am no Independent, nor Fifth Monarchy man, nor Leveller. You have shown your learning, Sir, and confuted an error inconsistent with civil society, very well; but this had been better done by itself. It had no more relation to the case in hand, than a lecture against the Alcoran; and you may as well conjecture me to be a Mahometan as a Fifth Monarchy man, from any thing in the book that looks like either. But, Sir, since I am led by you to give an account of my profession, which I hope I shall always be ready to do, I shall do it in few words: That I am of the same class, and in the same denomination of Dissenters with yourself, your office excepted, and am willing to be guided by, and to practise the great rule of Christian charity in all the proper and legal extents of it."

After giving this account of himself, De Foe goes briefly over the argument of his work, which he shows that Mr. Howe had not answered. He also takes occasion to animadvert upon the little concern which that writer discovered for his own principles, and adds, "If I was arrived to that coldness in the matter myself, I would

conform immediately." He says, he did not expect to find all the differences between the Dissenters and the Church of England dwindled into such trifles, and that by Mr. Howe, who is pastor of a separate church. "If I know any thing why we dissent," says he, "'tis principally on such accounts as these. 1. On account of the episcopal hierarchy, political ordination and superintendency. 2. On account of their imposing things owned to be indifferent, as terms of communion. 3. On account of these indifferent things being made necessary by the command of the civil magistrate. As to partial conformity, dissent in some things, and conforming in others, it does not seem to concern this case. No man among the Dissenters, I believe, pretended to dissent in every thing; but we are speaking of conforming in those very points in which we dissent, and that no less than the article of communion." De Foe sums up his argument with the following beautiful sentiment: "Sincerity is the glory of a Christian. The native lustre of an honest heart is impossible to be hid: 'twill shine through all his life in one action or another, in spite of scandal; and it wants no artifice to set it out."

In this tract, which is written with considerable ingenuity, and at the same time with a Christian temper, De Foe successfully vindicates himself from the charges of his opponent, and detects his evasions with great adroitness; but he no where allows himself in the use of harsh or unbecoming language, nor departs from that courtesy which he was desirous of showing to so respectable an adversary. "I always thought," says he, "that men might dispute without railing, and differ without quarrelling; and that opinions need not affect our temper."

All the arguments or provocations to discussion, urged by De Foe in the tracts above-mentioned, could not succeed in bringing Mr. Howe to debate the question. Many persons, besides our author, wished him to undertake it

for their satisfaction, thinking that a writer of his reputation could not fail to throw light upon the argument. Nothing, however, could move him to break silence at this time; but he afterwards drew up a Letter upon the subject, addressed to a person of rank, which was found amongst his papers after his decease. It is intitled, "A Letter to a Person of Honour, partly representing the rise of Occasional Conformity, partly the sense of the present Nonconformists, about their yet continuing differences from the Established Church." Dr. Calamy has inserted this paper in the first volume of his "Abridgement" and also in his Memoirs of Mr. Howe.

Immediately after the accession of Queen Anne, the controversy was revived with great warmth by other combatants. Most of the church writers made Occasional Conformity a subject for their invectives; and the moderation of the Dissenters, which had been formerly considered a virtue, was now represented by them as criminal, and indicative of some ill design. It was therefore made use of by the crafty to bring them under popular odium; and as the populace are usually led more by noise than reason, they generally gave in to it.

The Queen's speech at the opening of her first parliament was ominous for the Dissenters. Her resolution to defend and maintain the church was not forgotten; but not a word was uttered upon the subject of the Toleration, which so many were desirous to subvert, and all considered in jeopardy. The reply of the Commons went a little further. After complimenting the Queen as the most illustrious ornament and confessor for the Church, they go on to observe, "We promise ourselves that in your Majesty's reign we shall see it perfectly *restored* to its due rights and privileges, and secured in the same to posterity; which is only to be done by divesting those men of the power, who have shown they want not the will to destroy it."

Many days were not suffered to elapse before the meaning of this address, as well as the intention of its framers, was fully expounded to the public

Upon the fourth of November, Mr. William Bromley and Mr. Arthur Annesley, members for the two Universities, and Mr. Henry St. John, afterwards Lord Bolingbroke, brought in the expected bill for the prevention of occasional conformity. Although this measure originated in political rather than in religious motives, the object of it being to confirm the power of the Tories, yet the effect was to cut off the Dissenters for ever, from any chance of rising to eminence in the state.

The bill was opposed by the Whigs, who rightly urged, that no man ought to be deprived of the privileges of a subject, for a difference in religion. In spite of all arguments drawn from reason and humanity, it was violently promoted by the Tories, and what is most remarkable, by several who were themselves the offspring of dissenting parents, and from whom a more consistent conduct might have been expected. Upon the second reading of the bill, a clause was proposed for exempting Dissenters from such offices as cannot by law be executed without receiving the sacrament according to the usage of the Church of England." And it seemed but reasonable that those who were to be excluded from those situations that afforded power and emolument, should also be exempted from others that were merely burthensome, and which they could not enter upon without a breach of conscience. But the temper of the party was displayed in their rejection of so just a proposition; and the bill passed the Commons the twenty-eighth of the same month, by a great majority. "Among those who were the hottest in this affair," says a writer before quoted, "were the clergy, and a crowd of women of the lowest rank, inflamed as it were with a zeal for religion. These women expressed as great exultation on this supposed victory, as if they had taken

more delight in such religious triumphs, than in the gratification of even their lusts and their avarice."*

It is remarkable, that in the preamble to the bill, the maintenance of the Toleration is distinctly asserted, and all persecution for conscience' sake condemned in a high strain; but how the enacting part could be reconciled with these professions it is hard to conceive. De Foe, alluding to the deception attempted by the instigators of the measure, observes, "O! Persecution was a sad thing, nobody designed persecution; the Dissenters were not to be persecuted in the least; nay, the very preamble of the bill made a glorious declaration, that persecution was contrary to the Christian religion, and the articles of the Church of England. And yet, was any thing more directly tending to persecution than that bill, and was it not so in the nature of the thing?"† Nothing can exceed the effrontery of the men who could bring forward such a measure with these pretensions; but their hypocrisy was uniform with their intolerance. "Lies are not worth a farthing," adds De Foe, "if they are not calculated for the effectual deceiving of the people they are designed to deceive."‡

The bill was carried to the Lords the second of December, and there met with great opposition. Most of the bishops, who were then distinguished by their moderation, were against it, for which they were heavily censured by the high party, as enemies and betrayers of the church; but the reproach of bigots is of small value, and must always be reckoned upon by the opponents of violent measures. Many long and warm debates took place with a view to defeat or mitigate the measure. Some thought the penalties too high, and were reminded of the practice of informers in the reign of Charles II.; others believed that the chief design of the bill was to model corporations, so that none but Tories might be

* Cunningham's Gr. Brit. i. 318. † Review, v. 75. ‡ Ibid. 76.

returned at elections, and many considered it as the first step to a breach of the Toleration, the overthrow of which was visibly aimed at. The Lords, however, passed the bill, the ninth of December, but clogged it with several amendments, which they thought would be rejected by the Commons, and after some fruitless conferences, occasioned its loss. This was a great mortification to the Tories, for the Court had summoned all its strength upon the occasion, even to Prince George of Denmark, who was himself a Lutheran, and an occasional conformist, but voted against his conscience. It is reported that he said to Lord Wharton, when about to divide against him, " My heart is vid you."*

Of the temper which then reigned in the dominant party, we have a lively portraiture drawn by an historian of the time; and the reader will retrace the features in surveying the incidents of the succeeding chapter. " At that time some of the clergy, whose numbers still increased, exerted the utmost of their eloquence in preaching not only against the Dissenters, the Whigs, and the Ministry, but even against the queen herself, and the principles of moderation. They also expatiated at large in their sermons to the people, upon the old proceedings of Cromwell's time, and the dire misfortunes of King Charles; and he who inveighed the most bitterly, and filled his flock with the most dreadful apprehensions, was the most highly applauded by his party.†

Although the occasional bill was promoted by the ministry for political purposes, yet there were other reasons equally ignoble that procured for it clerical support. In their violent management, however, they over-reached themselves, driving many from the church who had before resorted there. De Foe traces the measure to the city of Coventry. " Here," says he, " we found it appear fresh in embryo, in a printed pamphlet, called, ' A Letter from a Friend in the Country,

* Oldmixon's Hist. Engl. iii. 299. † Cunningham, i. 319.

to a Member of Parliament.' In this work, the plan of the bill is laid down, with the reasons and advantages to the party; and to shroud its true birth-place, it was first said to be drawn by Sir Bartholomew Shower and his Exeter friends. But at last it was owned by Dr. Armstead of Coventry, and the famed Mr. Kimberley of the same place. The scheme was afterwards conveyed to Oxford, the high-church party having bit at the graceful bait, and espoused the blessed cause, to the eternal honour and glory of their politics as well as charity. Before I enter farther into the history of this procedure, I must do the high-church so much justice as to inquire into the character of the authors of this celebrated bill; and that I may not put Mr. Lesley to the trouble of denying the fact, I'll produce living vouchers at his demand for every tittle. Mr. Kimberley is the incumbent of one of the two large parishes in the city of Coventry. He is the son of an old dissenting minister outed in 1662, at Rydmerly in Worcestershire, and was picked out by the party at Oxford as a champion against the Dissenters, who, in this particular city, lived in the greatest unity with their conforming brethren. They came generally to church, and had no sermons at their meetings, but in the interval of the public hours of worship. But this gentleman, by his violence, has driven all from the church; his fiery spirit having made men abhor a place where with men of temper and moderation they could formerly be content to worship. And without doubt, the fury exercised by these men is the truest method they can take to make Dissenters, and does every day drive men from the communion of the Church of England.''*(D)

* Review, v. 227.

(D) Jonathan, son of William Kimberley, was born in 1651, and at sixteen years of age entered as a student at Pembroke College, Oxford, where in 1673, he proceeded M. A. Entering into orders, he became a celebrated preacher in the University, and was appointed minister of Stadham, near Oxford. In the course of a short time, he became vicar of Trinity church,

Whilst the bill was pending in parliament, swarms of pamphlets were issued from the press. To the general stock of argument, De Foe had not been backward in contributing his share. It being one in which he took great interest, he returned to it again at this time, and published "An Enquiry into Occasional Conformity, shewing that the Dissenters are no ways concerned in it. Lond. 1702." 4to. The work is opened with the following just remark: "He that opposes his own judgment against the current of the times, ought to be backed with unanswerable truths; and he that has truth on his side is a fool, as well as a coward, if he is afraid to own it, because of the currency or multitude of other men's opinions." De Foe seems conscious that he had the opinion of the majority against him, which exposed him to the imputation of arrogance, as if all were in error but himself; which, if it be so, says he, "Who can help it?" He contends, that most of the people he had met with were mistaken in their notions as to the operation of the bill, which he thinks would be so far from ruining the Dissenters, that it would be the means of consolidating their interests, and enable them to distinguish their friends from their enemies. "Those among us," says he, "who conform to your church for a place or a salary, you are welcome to take among you, and let them be a part of yourselves. All the converts you can make by the Mammon of unrighteousness, are your own."

De Foe was not so ignorant all this time, as not to perceive the design of those who were so eager to press forward

Coventry, and chaplain in ordinary to King Charles II. In 1683, he published an assize sermon at Warwick, as he did another sermon in 1702. Under the Tory ministry at the latter end of Queen Anne, church honours flowed in fast upon him. In 1710 he was appointed chaplain to William Bromley, Speaker of the House of Commons. In the following year, he succeeded Dr. Knipe, as Prebendary of Westminster; and upon the death of Dr. Binkes in 1712, he was made Dean of Lichfield. He died March 7, 1720.

the measure, which he considered to be an act of oppression, indefensible either by reason or equity. "No, Gentlemen, we don't tell you we like that part of the bill which excludes us from the native honours and preferments of our country, which are our due, our birth-right, equally with our neighbours, and to which we should be called by the suffrage of the people; and we cannot but think it a hardship beyond the power of reason to justify. But since this right must be clogged with so many inconveniences that we must mortgage our consciences to enjoy them, no man can have any charity left for us, but must presently conclude we shall freely forego such trifles for our consciences, or else that we may have no consciences at all." Referring to the injustice practised by the ruling sect, he demands, "Is it not very hard that the Dissenter should be excluded from all places of profit, trust and honour, and at the same time shall not be excused from those which are attended with charge, trouble, and loss of time? That a Dissenter shall be pressed as a sailor to fight at sea, listed as a soldier to fight on shore, and let his merit be never so much above his fellows, shall never be capable of preferment, so much as to carry a halbert? That we must maintain our own clergy and your clergy; our own poor and your poor; pay equal taxes and equal duties; and not to be thought worthy to be trusted to set a drunkard in the stocks?" De Foe then tells them, sarcastically, "We wonder, gentlemen, you will accept our money to carry on your wars." He states the number of Dissenters at this time to be two millions.

CHAPTER IV.

De Foe publishes his "Shortest Way with the Dissenters."—Occasion of his writing it.—Account of the Work.—Its favourable reception by the High Party.—And Effect upon the Nation.—Temper of High Churchmen.—Misunderstood by the Dissenters.—He upbraids them for their Ill-usage.—His Motives for writing in the Language of Irony.—Its Effects upon his Fortunes.—He is discovered to be the Author.—Complains of the dullness of his Enemies.—Is threatened with Vengeance.—Conceals himself for a time.—Proclamation for his Apprehension.—His work complained of in the House of Commons.—Ordered to be burnt.—Surrenders himself.—Publishes an Explanation of his Pamphlet.—He feels hurt at the Conduct of the Dissenters.—Brought to Trial at the Old Bailey.—Severely treated by the Attorney-General.—De Foe's Reflections upon his Conduct.—Throws himself upon the Mercy of the Queen.—Which he afterwards regrets.—Betrayed by his own Counsel.—His severe Sentence.—Tutchin's Reflections upon it.—He stands in the Pillory.—Which is a season of Triumph to him.—His Resolution of Mind.—Pope's ungenerous Treatment of him.—Reprehended by Cibber.—De Foe publishes "A Hymn to the Pillory."—Cibber's Remarks upon it.—Lampoons against him.—Ruin of his Circumstances.—Tampered with by the Ministers.—His Virtue in Adversity.—Notice of some Replies to the "Shortest Way."

1702—1703.

From the angry direction that was now given to the popular feeling, the tone of which had been received from the party in power, some incidents arose that had an important influence upon the circumstances of De Foe, the particulars of which will form the subject of the present chapter.

During the discussions in parliament upon Occasional Conformity, De Foe, who well knew the nature of the game that was playing by the high party, and the little impression that was to be made by sober argument, resolved now to

change his mode of attack. The course of his studies, no less than taste and inclination, led him to acquaint himself with the writings of his opponents, and seeing the absurd lengths to which their intemperate zeal urged them, it occurred to him, that by personating the character of a high churchman, and judiciously wielding the weapon of irony, he would have a fine opportunity for exposing their folly, and the wickedness of the cause they were so furious in promoting. Having collected together their arguments, and embodied them in suitable language, he submitted to the press one of the smartest political satires extant in the language. It is intitled, "The Shortest Way with the Dissenters: or, Proposals for the Establishment of the Church. London. Printed in the year 1702." 4to. pp. 29.

De Foe was prompted to this performance by the publications issued from the high-church party, of which the reader has had some specimens. He had particularly in view the sermon of Sacheverell, intitled, "The Political Union," in which the preacher had an expression to this purpose, "That he could not be a true son of the Church of England, who did not lift up the banner of the church against the Dissenters." Unlike the meek founder of Christianity, who commanded his disciples to put up the sword, this champion of a new dispensation, was for unsheathing and bathing it in the blood of innocent victims. His whole sermon, which is founded on Proverbs viii. 15, is a bitter invective against moderation, whether in Churchmen or Dissenters; but against the latter, he hangs out "the bloody flag, and banner of defiance." The trash uttered in the pulpit by this fanatic, would have been unworthy of notice, but for its threatening aspect. His bad divinity, and his absurd politics, poured forth with the most consummate insolence, might have passed for the ravings of a madman: but in stirring up the bad passions, for hostile purposes, the peace of society was endangered.

Nothing but the violence of the man, and the patronage of his politics by the Court, could have gained him even temporary fame; these, however, procured him the distinction that here and there happens to a criminal of more than ordinary turpitude.

In the piece of exquisite irony produced by De Foe upon this occasion, he so artfully concealed his design, that all parties were at first imposed upon. He began with such bitter reflections upon the Dissenters, and their principles, that it was for some time taken to be the work of a violent churchman, and met with applause from some of that party in the two Universities. He tells his readers, "It is now near fourteen years that the glory and peace of the finest and most flourishing church in the world has been eclipsed, buffeted, and disturbed by a sort of men, whom God, in his Providence, has suffered to insult over her, and bring her down. These have been the days of her humiliation and tribulation. She has borne, with an invincible patience, the reproach of the wicked, and God has at last heard her prayers, and delivered her from the oppression of the stranger. And now they find their day is over, their power gone, and the throne of this nation possessed by a royal, English, true and ever constant member of, and friend to, the church. Now they find that they are in danger of the Church of England's just resentments, they cry out, peace, union, forbearance, and charity; as if the church had not too long harboured her enemies under her wing, and nourished the viperous brood, till they hiss and fly in the face of the mother that cherished them. No, gentlemen, the time of mercy is past; your day of grace is over; you should have practised peace, and moderation, and charity, if you expected any yourselves."

In order to furnish arguments for proceeding against the Dissenters with the utmost severity, De Foe takes a review of their conduct in the preceding reigns, aggravating it in terms of the bitterest reproach; whilst he extols, in equally

strong language, the lenity and forbearance of the church. The minds of men must have been strangely obtuse, not to perceive the irony of the following passage: "The first execution of the laws against Dissenters in England, was in the days of King James I. And what did it amount to? Truly, the worst they suffered was, at their own request, to let them go to New-England, and erect a colony, give them great privileges, defend them against invaders, and receive no taxes nor revenue from them. This was the cruelty of the Church of England. Fatal lenity! Had King James sent all the Puritans in England away to the West Indies, we had been a national, unmixed church. To requite the lenity of the father, they take up arms against the son; conquer, pursue, take, imprison, and at last put to death the anointed of God, and destroy the being of government! In the days of King Charles II. how did the church reward their bloody doings with lenity and mercy? King Charles came in all mercy and love, cherished them, preferred them, withheld the rigour of the law, and often-times, even against the advice of his parliament, gave them liberty of conscience. And how did they requite him with the villanous contrivance to depose and murder him, and his successor, at the Rye-plot? King James II., as if mercy was the inherent quality of the family, began his reign with unusual favour to them. Nor could their joining the Duke of Monmouth against him, move him to do himself justice upon them: But that mistaken prince thought to win them by gentleness and love. How they requited him all the world knows."

In examining the reasons urged in their favour, De Foe says, "They are very numerous, they say, and we cannot suppress them. To this may be answered; 1. They are not so numerous as the Protestants in France, and yet the French king effectually cleared the nation of them at once, and we don't find that he misses them at home. But I am not of opinion they are so numerous as is pretended.

Those mistaken people of the church, who are misled and deluded by their wheedling artifices to join with them, make their party the greater. But these will open their eyes when the government shall set heartily about the work, and come off from them, as some animals, which they say always desert a house when 'tis likely to fall. 2. The more numerous, the more dangerous, and therefore the more need to suppress them. 3. If we are to allow them, only because we cannot suppress them, then it ought to be tried whether we can or no. But I am of opinion 'tis easy to be done, and could prescribe ways and means, if it were proper; but I doubt not the government will find effectual methods for rooting the contagion from the face of the land." He adds, "we can never enjoy a settled, uninterrupted union and tranquillity in this nation, till the spirit of Whiggism, faction, and schism is melted down, like the old money."

To quicken the work, De Foe tells his readers the time is come which all good men have wished for. "Here is the opportunity, and the only one, perhaps, that ever the church had to secure herself, and destroy her enemies. If ever you will establish the best Christian church in the world; if ever you will suppress the spirit of enthusiasm; if ever you will free the nation from the viperous brood that have so long sucked the blood of their mother; if you will leave your posterity free from faction and rebellion—this is the time. This is the time to pull up this heretical weed of sedition that has so long disturbed the peace of our church, and poisoned the good corn. But, says another hot and cold objecter, 'This is renewing the fire and faggot; this will be cruelty in its nature, and barbarous to all the world.' I answer, 'tis cruelty to kill a snake or a toad, in cold blood, but the poison of their nature makes it a charity to our neighbours to destroy those creatures, not for any personal injury received, but for prevention; not for the evil they have done, but the evil they may do. Serpents, toads, vipers, &c., are noxious to

the body, and poison the sensitive life; these poison the soul, corrupt our posterity, ensnare our children, destroy the vitals of our happiness, and contaminate the whole mass. Shall any law be given to such wild creatures? Some beasts are for sport, and the huntsmen give them the advantages of ground; but some are knocked on the head by all possible ways of violence and surprise. I do not prescribe fire and faggot; but, as Scipio said of Carthage, *Delenda est Carthago.* They are to be rooted out of this nation if ever we will live in peace, serve God, or enjoy our own. As for the manner, I leave it to those who have a right to execute God's justice on the nation's and the church's enemies."

De Foe adds, " 'Tis vain to trifle in this matter. The light, foolish handling of them by fines, is their glory and advantage. If the gallows instead of the Compter, and the gallies instead of the fines, were the reward of going to a conventicle, there would not be so many sufferers. The spirit of martyrdom is over. They that will go to church to be chosen sheriffs and mayors, would go to forty churches rather than be hanged. If one severe law was made and punctually executed, that whoever was found at a conventicle should be banished the nation, and the preacher be hanged, we should soon see an end of the tale; they would all come to church; and one age would make us all one again. To talk of five shillings a month for not coming to the sacrament, and one shilling a week for not coming to church, is such a way of converting people as never was known. This is selling them a liberty to transgress for so much money. If it be not a crime, why dont we give them full license? And if it be, no price ought to compound for the committing it; for that is selling a liberty to people to sin against God and the government. We hang men for trifles, and banish them for things not worth naming; but an offence

against God and the Church, against the welfare of the world, and the dignity of religion, shall be bought off for five shillings. This is such a shame to a Christian government, that, 'tis with regret, I transmit it to posterity."

The foregoing extracts will enable the reader to form some judgment of the language adopted by the high-churchmen of that period in relation to the Dissenters. That the author committed no outrage upon the sentiments of these men, the writings of Sacheverell, Leslie, and others of the same stamp, furnish sufficient evidence; and had he not been discovered, he would probably have passed as a genuine expounder of the politics of the party. Of the reception it met with, De Foe has himself given the following account. "When the book called 'The Shortest Way with the Dissenters,' first appeared in the world, and before those high-flown gentlemen knew its author; whilst the piece in its outward figure looked so natural, and was so like a brat of their own begetting, that like two apples, they could not know them asunder, the author's true design in the writing it, had its immediate effect. The gentlemen of the high-church immediately fell in with the project. Nothing could have been more grateful to them than arguments to prove the necessity of ruining the Dissenters, and removing those obstructions to the church's glory out of the way." De Foe continues, "We have innumerable testimonies of the pleasure with which the party embraced the proposal of sending all the Dissenting ministers to the gallows and the gallies; of having all their meeting-houses demolished; and being let loose upon the people to plunder and destroy them." * (E)

* Review, ii. 277.

(E) A Tory writer of the time, says, "That it passed currently as the work of one of those they called high-churchmen; and though the pretended zeal and earnestness of the author to have the Dissenters treated

In another of his works, our author says, "The wisest churchmen in the nation were deceived by this book. Those whose temper fell in with the times hugged and embraced it; applauded the proposal; filled their mouths with the arguments made use of therein; and an eminent churchman in the country, wrote a letter to his friend in London, who had sent him the book, in the following words: "Sir. I received yours, and with it that pamphlet which makes so much noise, called 'The Shortest Way with the Dissenters,' for which I thank you. I join with that author in all he says, and have such a value for the book, that, next to the Holy Bible, and the sacred Comments, I take it for the most valuable piece I have. I pray God put it into her Majesty's heart to put what is there proposed in execution. Yours, &c." In his Review for August 11, 1705, De Foe tells us, that he had the original of this letter by him. (F)

Our author goes on to observe, "The soberer churchmen,

according to their deserts, was universally condemned by churchmen in general, yet it served the purpose well enough to brand that whole body with blood thirstiness and a persecuting spirit, till by the diligence of the government it appeared that no churchman had been so little a christian, but that it was done by one of the chief scribes of the other party, with a mere design to halloo the mob to make the world believe that the Dissenters' throats were to be cut the shortest way, and to provoke these to begin first for their own preservation; for which wicked attempt the author had his just reward. But the party were so little ashamed of it, that whenever it was objected against them, it was only grinned off as a piece of wit and management."—*Caveat against the Whigs.* Part iv. p. 38, 39.

(F) Oldmixon relates the following anecdote connected with this publication. "A bookseller now living, having an order from a fellow of a college in Cambridge for a parcel of books, just at the time of publishing this 'Shortest Way', put up one of them in the bundle, not doubting it would be welcome to his customer; who accordingly thanked him for packing so excellent a treatise up with the rest, it being, next to the Sacred Bible and Holy Comments, the best book he ever saw. But understanding afterwards it was written by a rank Independent, he railed at it as much as he had extolled it, and forbad his bookseller to send him any more pamphlets without particular order."—*Oldmixon's Hist. of England,* iii. 301.

whose principles were founded on charity, and who had their eye upon the laws and constitution of their country, as that to which their own liberties were annexed, though they still believed the book to be written by a high-churchman, yet openly exclaimed against the proposal, condemned the warmth that appeared in the clergy against their brethren, and openly professed that such a man as Sacheverell and his brethren would blow up the foundations of the church. But either side had scarce time to discover their sentiments, when the book appeared to have been written by a Dissenter; that it was designed in derision of the standard held up by Sacheverell and others; that it was a satire upon the fury of the churchmen, and a plot to make the rest discover themselves. Nothing was more strange than to see the effect upon the whole nation which this little book, a contemptible pamphlet of but three sheets of paper, had, and in so short a time too. The most forward, hot and furious, as well among the clergy as others, blushed when they reflected how far they had applauded the book; raged that such an abuse should be put upon the church; and as they were obliged to damn the book, so they were strangely hampered between the doing so, and pursuing their rage at the Dissenters. The greater part, the better to qualify themselves to condemn the author, came earnestly in to condemn the principle; for it was impossible to do one without the other. They laboured incessantly, both in print and in pulpit, to prove that this was a horrible slander upon the church. But this still answered the author's end the more; for they could never clear the church of the slander, without openly condemning the practice; nor could they possibly condemn the practice, without censuring those clergymen who had gone such a length already as to say the same thing in print. Nor could all their rage at the author of that book contribute any thing to clear them, but still made

the better side the worse. It was plain they had owned the doctrine, had preached up the necessity of expelling and rooting out the Dissenters in their sermons and printed pamphlets; that it was evident they had applauded the book itself, till they knew the author; and there was no other way to prevent the odium falling on the whole body of the Church of England, but by giving up the authors of these mad principles, and openly professing moderate principles themselves."*

If De Foe brought upon himself the rage of the high party by this publication, it was because he unmasked their conduct, and by the severity of his sarcasm, cut them to the quick. Of their disposition to mischief, they had already afforded sufficient evidence to justify the following picture of them, which is fully borne out by the history of the times. "Down with the Whigs, down with the Presbyterians, down with the meeting-houses, was such an universal cry, that nothing else," observes De Foe, "was to be heard in the mouths of these furies for a long time. Press, pulpit, coffee-house, all the discourse of the kingdom, was what her Majesty would do, and then the church should triumph over her enemies the Dissenters; how forty-one should now be fully revenged, and all things were to be done *The Shortest Way*. Though this truth was unhappily told by the author of this a little too soon, yet time has made it plain it was in their design, and discovered by themselves." †

De Foe had so well concealed his real intention in the above work, that many of the Dissenters mistook his meaning, and became alarmed lest the measures he recommended should be actually put in execution. Under these impressions, they joined in the general outcry against the author, and added not a little to his sufferings.

* Present State of Parties, pp. 18, 21. † Review, ii. 196.

After recounting their ill-usage to him on a former occasion, when he opposed the addresses to King James, and the dispensing with the tests, he says, "I had their utmost displeasure again, at the first coming out of '*The Shortest Way with the Dissenters*,' when they ran away with it, without giving themselves leave to search into things, that the book was really a plot to destroy all the Dissenters; when honest Col. W———ll undertook to be the hangman rather than the author should want a pass out of the world; and Mr. C———, at the head of a whole club at ———, declared, if he could find me, he would deliver me up, and abate the government the 50*l.* promised. Yet in all these things they have done me justice in their turn; that is, time and truth have vindicated me and convinced them, and they have lived to own themselves mistaken in them all."*

When the mask was afterwards thrown off by the high party, and their designs were blazoned forth in plain terms by Sacheverell, in his sermon at St. Paul's, De Foe recalled the matter to their recollection in a manner sufficiently intelligible. "And now, Gentlemen Dissenters," says he, "do you think I can forbear to throw *The Shortest Way* in your faces upon this occasion, and make myself a little amends upon you? Was the author guilty of injuring the party, as some suggested, when he represented them sending all the Dissenters to the gallies and to the gallows? And why should not I have the pleasure of insulting you a little on this head, that I saw the meaning of these things six years ago, when many of you were blind, and told you it at my own peril as well as loss? When I told some gentlemen they were ignorant, I said less than I ought; and they had no reason to be angry if I had said they were fools. But I scorn their anger, and the occasion of exposing them. I saw this furious party's design; I fairly warned the Dissenters, even

* Review, viii. 442.

at the price of my own destruction. How I have been treated, and am still for my fidelity to them, let themselves speak. I upbraid them with very few acts of kindness ever shown me; and for their unkindness, it has never moved me to forsake the cause of truth, or to leave off exposing with all my might this hellish party, and endeavouring to detect their wicked designs."*

The motives that induced De Foe to write in the language of irony, are thus explained by himself. "Some people have blamed the author of 'The Shortest Way,' for that he did not quote either in the margin, or otherwise, the sermon of Sacheverell aforesaid, or such other authors from whom his notions were drawn, which would have justified him in what he had suggested. But these men do not see the design of the book at all, or the effect it had on the people it pointed at. It is true, this had prevented the fate of the man, but it had, at the same time, taken off the edge of the book; and that which now cut the throat of a whole party, would not then have given the least wound. The case the book pointed at, was to speak in the first person of the party, and then, thereby, not only speak their language, but make them acknowledge it to be theirs; which they did so openly, that confounded all their attempts afterwards to deny it, and to call it a scandal thrown upon them by another."†

We are now to see what effect it produced upon the fortunes of the author. Although he had imitated the language of the high party so well as to be generally misunderstood, yet there were passages in the work, which, to a calm and considerate observer, might have discovered that he was merely in jest. That his object was not detected before the disclosure of his name, argues a degree of obtuseness in the men of both parties, not very creditable to

* Review, vi. 454 † Present State of Parties, p. 24.

their understandings. When the author and his design became fully known, and he was threatened with the vengeance of those whom he had so successfully exposed, he complained, "How hard it was that his intentions should not have been perceived by all the town, and that not one man could see it, either Churchman or Dissenter."* Mr. Chalmers observes, "This is one of the strongest proofs how much the minds of men were inflamed against each other, and how little the virtues of mutual forbearance and personal kindness existed amidst the clamour of contradiction which then shook the kingdom, and gave rise to some of the most remarkable events in our annals."†

The first detection of our author is said to have been owing to the industry of the Earl of Nottingham, one of the secretaries of state, whose vigilance and perseverance in the affair are highly lauded by Leslie.‡ When his name became generally known, people were at no loss to decipher his object; and those who had committed themselves by launching forth in his praises, were stung with madness at their own folly. All parties now concurred in pouring vengeance upon him for his unlucky wit, which no one had the charity to advance in his extenuation. As the party in power was inimical to the man, rather than to the principles of his book, it was resolved to crush him by a state prosecution. During the first ebullition of fury, De Foe, in contemplation of the rigour he was likely to meet with, sought concealment from the gathering tempest. A proclamation was issued by the government, offering a reward of fifty pounds for the discovery of his retreat, and advertised in the London Gazette, for January 10, 1702-3. It is as follows:

"Whereas, Daniel De Foe, alias De Fooe, is charged

* Brief Explanation of The Shortest Way. † Life of De Foe, p. 18.
‡ Rehearsal, i. 62, 264.

with writing a scandalous and seditious pamphlet, intitled "The Shortest Way with the Dissenters." He is a middle-sized spare man, about forty years old, of a brown complexion, and dark brown coloured hair, but wears a wig; a hooked nose, a sharp chin, grey eyes, and a large mole near his mouth: was born in London, and for many years was a hose-factor, in Freeman's Yard, in Cornhill; and now is owner of the brick and pantile works, near Tilbury Fort, in Essex: whoever shall discover the said Daniel De Foe to one of her majesty's principal secretaries of state, or any of her majesty's justices of the peace, so he may be apprehended, shall have a reward of 50*l.*, which her majesty has ordered immediately to be paid upon such discovery."

In the further prosecution of the resentment he had excited, a formal complaint was made of his publication in the House of Commons, the 25th of February, 1702-3, when some of the obnoxious passages being read, it was resolved, "That this book being full of false and scandalous reflections on this parliament, and tending to promote sedition, be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, to-morrow, in New Palace Yard." This pitiful vengeance upon a work, which was offensive only for its wit, was unworthy the dignity of a grave assembly, and conferred no reproach upon the victim it sought to dishonour. (G) The printer and bookseller being now taken into custody, De Foe issued forth from his retirement, to brave the storm, resolving, as he expresses it, "to throw himself upon the favour of government rather than that others should be ruined by his mistake."

In order to remove the veil from the eyes of those who were too blind to perceive the drift of his argument, De Foe employed his retirement in composing "A Brief Explana-

(G) De Foe says in one of his works, "I have heard a bookseller in King James's time say, 'That if he would have a book sell, he would have it burnt by the hands of the common hangman.'"—*Essay on Projects*, p. 173.

tion of a late Pamphlet, intitled, 'The Shortest Way with the Dissenters.' London: printed in the year 1703." 4to. He begins by saying, "The author professes, he thought, when he wrote the book, he should never need to come to an explication, and wonders to find there should be any reason for it. If any man takes the pains seriously to reflect upon the contents, the nature of the thing, and the manner of the style, it seems impossible to imagine it should pass for any thing but a banter upon the high-flying churchmen. But since ignorance or prejudice has led most men to a hasty censure of the book, and some people are like to come under the displeasure of the government for it, in justice to those who are in danger of suffering; in submission to the parliament and council, who may be offended at it; and in courtesy to all mistaken people, who, it seems, have not penetrated into the real design, the author presents the world with the native genuine meaning and design of the paper, which he hopes may allay the anger of the government, or at least satisfy the minds of such as imagine a design to inflame and divide us.

"The '*Sermon preached at Oxford,*' the '*New Association,*' the '*Poetical Observator,*' with numberless others, have said the same things in terms very little darker, and this book stands fair to let these gentlemen know, that what they design can no farther take with mankind, than as their real meaning stands disguised by artifice of words; but that, when the persecution and destruction of the Dissenters, the very thing they drive at, is put into plain English, the whole nation will start at the notion, and condemn the author to be hanged for his impudence. He humbly hopes, he shall find no harder treatment for plain English without design, than those gentlemen for their plain design, in duller and darker English. The meaning then of this paper is, in short, to tell these gentlemen, that 'tis nonsense to go round about and tell us of the crimes of the Dissenters, to prepare the world to believe they are not fit to live in a human

society; that they are enemies to the government and the law, to the queen and the public peace, and the like; the shortest way, and the soonest, would be to tell us plainly, that they would have them all hanged, banished, and destroyed.

"Thus a poor author has ventured to have all mankind call him villain and traitor to his country and friends, for making other people's thoughts speak in his words. From this declaration of his real design, he humbly hopes the Lords of her Majesty's Council, or the House of Parliament, will be no longer offended, and that the poor people in trouble on this account shall be pardoned or excused. He also desires that all men who have taken offence at the book, mistaking the author's design, will suffer themselves to think again and withhold their censure, till they find themselves qualified to make a venture like this for the good of their native country."

De Foe was particularly hurt with the Dissenters for continuing to misunderstand him, even after he had fully declared his meaning; supposing that he wrote with a design to have them all hanged, banished, or destroyed, and that the gallows or the gallies should be the penalty of going to a conventicle. "Forgetting," says he, "that at the same time I must design to have my father, my wife, six innocent children, and myself put into the same condition." De Foe goes on to observe, "All the fault I can find in myself as to these people, is, that when I had drawn the picture, I did not, like the Dutchman with his man and bear, write under them, *This is the Man*, and *This is the Bear*, lest the people should mistake me. I confess I did not foresee an occasion for this; and having, in a compliment to their judgment, shunned so sharp a reflection upon their senses, I have left them at liberty to treat me like one that put a value upon their penetration at the expense of my own."*

* Pref. to More Reformation.

To such a heighth had party feeling now risen, that neither his respect for the queen, his submission to the ruling powers, nor the generosity he displayed towards his printer and publisher, could shield him from the resentment of his enemies.

> "Justice, with change of interest, learns to bow,
> And what was merit once, is murther now.
> Actions receive their tincture from the times,
> And as they change, are virtues made, or crimes."*

His wit having been construed into a libel by the grand jury, he was indicted at the Old Bailey sessions, the 24th of February, 1703, and proceeded to trial in the following July. Sir Simon Harcourt, who was Attorney-General, and conducted the prosecution, bore upon De Foe with great severity, which drew from him the following remarks: "To hear of a gentleman telling me 'The Shortest Way,' was paving the way over the skulls of churchmen, that it is a crime to justify it, should have been said by no man but him who could first answer this question: Whether all that was ironically said in that book, was not seriously as well as with a malicious earnest, published with impunity in print a hundred times before and since? To say, then, that this was a crime, flies so much in the face of the churchmen, that it upbraids them with blowing up their own cause, and ruining their friends by a method they at the same time condemn in others. Upon this foot I again say, the book was just, its design fair, and all the facts charged upon them very true."†

Some years afterwards, when Sacheverell excited so much attention by his sermon at St. Paul's, De Foe thus recals his treatment by the Attorney-General. "Where were the brains of wise Sir Simon Harcourt, when, according to his custom, bullying the author then at the bar, he cried, 'Oh

* Hymn to the Pillory. † Review, ii. 376.

but he would insinuate that the churchmen were for these barbarous ways with the Dissenters,' and therefore it was a mighty crime! And now, good Sir Simon, whose honesty and modesty were born together, you see, Sir, the wrong done them; for this very man, whom you impudently said was then abused, has doomed them all to the devil and his angels, declares they ought to be prosecuted for high-treason, and tells us that every Dissenter from the church is a traytor to the state."*

In another place, he observes, in reference to the same times, "When Sir Simon Harcourt aggravated it against the author, that he designed in the book to have the world believe the Church of England would have the Dissenters thus used, 'tis presumed, without reflection upon that gentleman's penetration, that he had not heard how eagerly they granted the suggestion, by espousing the proposal, and by acknowledging it was the way they desired. Now, here is another test put upon the world, of this true high-church principle. Destruction of Dissenters is proved to be no more persecution, than hanging of highwaymen. This is saying in earnest what the author of '*The Shortest Way*' said in jest; this is owning that to the sun, which Sir Simon Harcourt said before, was a crime to suggest. Now the blessed days are come that the great truth is owned bare-faced; and the party that ruined and abused the author for telling the truth out of season, makes no scruple of taking this as a proper season to tell the same truth in their own way. From this the author observes, every man ought to have the telling of his own story himself; and that book deserved a censure, not that it was untrue, but because it was not spoke by the right person."†

It may be gathered from his own account of the prosecution, that when his enemies had him in their power, they

* Review, vi. 454. † Review, ii. 277, 8.

were at a loss to know what to do with him. Diffident of the consequences of a trial should he enter upon his defence, they were desirous of avoiding the exposure that would result from a conflict with so powerful an adversary. He was therefore advised to throw himself upon the mercy of the queen, with a promise of protection; which induced him to quit his defence, and to acknowledge himself as the author of the accused work. The jury, upon this, found him guilty of composing and publishing a seditious libel; but the Court having obtained its object, failed him when he stood in need of assistance.* To this he alludes in his "Hymn to the Pillory."

"I beckon to mankind to have a care.
And pointing, tell how I was lost, and where.
I show the dangerous shore
Where I have suffered shipwreck long before.
If among poets there remain a fool,
That scorns to take this notice for a rule,
But ventures the fidelity
Of those whose trade and custom 'tis to lie;
Let men to him no pity shew,
Let him to Bedlam, not to Newgate go."

In a work published by him soon afterwards, he expresses his regret that he did not make a vigorous defence at his trial, instead of listening to the advice of the lawyers; his ready acknowledgment of the work being considered tantamount to his pleading guilty.† De Foe seems to have been as badly used by his own counsel, as by those of the opposite side; which afforded him just matter of complaint. One of his recent biographers observes, "It is impossible not to acquiesce in the justice of his displeasure against those who had undertaken his defence. Nothing but the utmost weakness, or wickedness, on the part of the bar, bench, and jury, can account for the issue of the trial."‡ Such was the

* Consolidator, p. 211. † Elegy on the Author of the T. B. E.
‡ Pref. to Cadell's edition of Robinson Crusoe.

animosity that pervaded the rulers of the state, that it is probable nothing would have availed in his defence; for party-feeling pervaded even the seat of justice. This was apparent in the severity of his sentence, which was to the following purpose: That he pay a fine of 200 marks to the queen; stand three times in the pillory; be imprisoned during the queen's pleasure; and find sureties for his good behaviour for seven years. (H)

It has been justly remarked, that "This very infamous sentence reflected much more dishonour upon the Court by which it was pronounced, than upon De Foe upon whom it was inflicted."* And so it was considered by many persons at the time; for he was guarded to the pillory by the populace, as if he was about to be enthroned in a chair of state, and descended from it with the triumphant acclamations of

(H) Tutchin has the following remarks upon his sentence, in his *Observator* for Saturday, the 10th of July, 1703. "*Countryman.*—Truly, Master *Observator*, I have no very good news for you. Mr. Daniel De Foe has pleaded guilty to the indictment against him, for writing and publishing '*The Shortest Way with the Dissenters;*' and he is sentenced to stand three times in the pillory, to pay a fine of 200 marks, and to find security for his good behaviour for seven years. *Observator.*—The Court could do no otherwise than convict him, upon his pleading guilty; *habemus confitentem reum* is very often the voice of courts of judicature, 'tis the case of judges and juries. If Daniel de Foe was in expectation of Coleman's Black Box, he has found a pillory instead of it. I don't trouble my head about the custom of giving the pillory to authors, which is the punishment of bakers. You talked just now of turning author; have a care of your candle. You see which is the shortest way with authors; you must all enter yourselves into the regiment of Colonel Foe. The law of England directs that no man shall be fined *utra tenementum*; and I make no question but the justice of the Court has fined Mr. Foe answerable to his estate. His security for his good behaviour for seven years, without doubt, was rationally considered, as to the legality thereof. For my part, I am only acquainted with the old laws of England, the ancient birthrights and immunities of Englishmen: this I take to be the foundation of new laws." This is one of the passages for which Tutchin was afterwards prosecuted.

* Biog. Brit.

the surrounding multitude. In allusion to this, one of his adversaries has the following couplet:

"The shouting crowds their advocate proclaim,
And varnish over infamy with fame."*

De Foe has himself told us, "That the people, who were expected to treat him very ill, on the contrary pitied him, and wished those who set him there were placed in his room, and expressed their affections by loud shouts and acclamations when he was taken down."† It is more important to observe, that during his exhibition he was protected by the same friends from the missiles of his enemies; and that the mob, instead of pelting him, resorted to the unmannerly act of drinking his health.

"As round him Philistines adoring stand,
And keep their Dagon safe from Israel's hand.
That dirt themselves protected him from filth,
And for the faction's money drank his health."‡

Tradition reports, that the machine, which was graced with one of the keenest wits of the day, was adorned with garlands, it being in the midst of summer. The same authority states, that refreshments were provided for him after his exhibition. It was indeed as great a triumph to him as could possibly happen in his existing circumstances, all the odium of his situation being transferred to those who placed him there. As the high-churchmen were in power, he had no lenity to look for, so that the whole sentence was executed upon him with great exactness, and the particulars published in the London Gazette. (1)

* True-Born Hugonot. † Consolidator, p. 68. ‡ True-Born Hugonot.

(1) The London Gazette, No. 3936. Thursday, July 29, to Monday, August 2, 1703.

"London, July 31. On the 29th instant, Daniel Foe, alias de Foe, stood in the Pillory before the Royal Exchange, in Cornhill, as he did yesterday near the Conduit, in Cheapside, and this day at Temple Bar, in pursuance of his sentence given against him at the last Sessions, at the Old Bailey, for writing and publishing a seditious libel, intitled, [*The Shortest Way with*

The indelicacy of inflicting so degrading a punishment as the pillory upon a man of letters, merely for a political offence, is a discovery of modern times. If at all retained, it should be appropriated for actions that are really infamous, the perpetrators of which are to be driven from society. But to place in such a situation so ingenious a man as De Foe, and upon a charge so contemptible, was unworthy the manners of an enlightened age, and reflected disgrace upon the government.

"Thou art no shame to truth and honesty,
Nor is the character of such defaced by thee,
Who suffer by oppressive injury.
Shame, like the exhalations of the sun,
Falls back where first the motion was begun:
And he who for no crime shall on thy brows appear,
Bears less reproach than they who placed him there." *

In the midst of his sufferings, De Foe armed himself with a resolution of mind that enabled him to meet them, and to triumph over his enemies. To the fortitude he displayed upon this occasion, Pope alludes in his "Dunciad," but with a wish to insinuate that he was influenced by a less worthy impulse.—

"Fearless on high stood unabashed De Foe."

It was a bad taste that placed so ingenious a writer as De Foe in the society of dunces; but Pope was as defective in judgment as in good feeling, and sported with the character of men, as he was led by the impulse of passion. In another part of his poem, he makes an ungenerous allusion to our author and his sufferings, associating him with a name famous in the annals of his country, and a victim also to the rage of relentless churchmen.

"She saw old Prynne in restless Daniel shine."

the Dissenters.] By which sentence he is also fined 200 marks, to find sureties for his good behaviour for seven years, and to remain in prison till all be performed."

* Hymn to the Pillory.

As it does not appear that De Foe had given any personal offence to the poet, the invidious distinction conferred upon him can be resolved into nothing but mere wantonness. The author of the notes to the *Dunciad* seems to doubt the propriety of the association, as he owns him to be "a man of parts;" and Pope himself appears to have entertained a respect for him as a writer. (K) In reference to this misapplication of satire, Cibber observes, "De Foe can never, with any propriety, be ranked amongst the dunces; for whoever reads his works with candour and impartiality, must be convinced that he was a man of the strongest natural powers, and lively imagination, and solid judgment, which, joined with an unshaken probity in his moral conduct, and an invincible integrity in his political sphere, ought not only to screen him from the petulant attacks of satire, but transmit his name with some degree of applause to posterity."*

Whilst the government was engaged in wreaking its vengeance upon wit and ridicule, so successfully employed against its own projects, De Foe was preparing the means for disarming it of its sting, and converting his own punishment into a satire upon its authors. For this purpose he published, upon the very day of his exhibition to the people, "A Hymn to the Pillory. Lond. printed in the year 1703." 4to. pp. 24. "In this ode," says Mr Chalmers, "the reader will find satire pointed by his sufferings; generous sentiments arising from his situation; and an unexpected flow of easy verse."† The poem quickly passed through several editions, being eagerly read by the people, as well for the wit of the author, as for sympathy with

(K) "The first part of Robinson Crusoe is very good.—De Foe wrote a vast many things: and none bad, though none excellent, except this. There is something good in all he has written."—*Spence's Anecdotes, Singer's edit.* p. 258.

* Cibber's Lives of the Poets, vol. iv. † Life of De Foe, p. 20.

him in his sufferings. "The third edition corrected, with more additions," was printed in the same year. In the opening lines he rises superior to his situation, as well as to the men who contrived it for him:—

"Hail Hieroglyphick state machine,
Contrived to punish fancy in;
Men that are men in thee can feel no pain,
And all thy insignificants disdain.
Contempt, that false new word for shame,
Is, without crime, an empty name;
A shadow to amuse mankind,
But never frights the wise or well-fixed mind.
Virtue despises human scorn,
And scandals innocence adorn."

Addressing this "State-Trap of the Law," which had been graced before his time by the names of Prynne, Burton and Bastwick, men of learning and good sense, as well as of unspotted honesty, he alludes to another great man, who narrowly escaped the same fate for questioning the divine right of tithes, and only saved himself by a timely recantation:

"Even the learned Selden saw,
A prospect of thee through the law.
He had thy lofty pinnacles in view,
But so much honour never was thy due:
Had the great Selden triumph'd on thy stage,
Selden, the honour of his age;
No man would ever shun thee more,
Or grudge to stand where Selden stood before."

De Foe concludes the poem with an address to the Pillory, to break silence and proclaim the merits of his case to the world.

"Thou bug-bear of the law stand up and speak
Thy long mis-construed silence break,
Tell us who 'tis upon thy ridge stands there,
So full of fault and yet so void of fear;
And from the paper in his hat,
Let all mankind be told for what.

Tell them it was because he was too bold,
And told those truths, which should not ha' been told,
Extol the justice of the land,
Who punish what they will not understand.

Tell them he stands exalted there,
For speaking what we would not hear;
And yet he might have been secure,
Had he said less, or would he ha' said more.
Tell them that this is his reward,
And worse is yet for him prepared,
Because his foolish virtue was so nice
As not to sell his friends, according to his friends' advice.

And thus he's an example made,
To make men of their honesty afraid,
That for the time to come they may
More willingly their friends betray;
Tell them the men that placed him here
Are scandals to the times,
Are at a loss to find his guilt,
And can't commit his crimes."

In this stinging satire De Foe took ample revenge upon his enemies for their abuse of power. Cibber justly says of him, "Mr. De Foe, who possessed a resolute temper, and a most confirmed fortitude of mind, was never awed by the threats of power, nor deterred from speaking truth by the insolence of the great." The same writer, in noticing the present publication, says, "At the very time he was in the hands of the ministry, to show the invincible force of his mind, he wrote a Hymn to the Pillory, as a kind of defiance of their power. 'The reader, says he, is desired to observe, this poem was the author's declaration, even when in the cruel hands of a merciless, as well as unjust ministry; that the treatment he had from them was unjust, exorbitant, and consequently illegal.'*

* De Foe's Works, vol ii. Pref.

As the ministry did not think proper to prosecute him for this fresh insult against them, that forbearance was construed a confession of guilt in their former proceedings." *

The nature of De Foe's punishment excited much mirth in his enemies, who sported their wit in lampoons and madrigals, in which they endeavoured to hold him up to ridicule, as well as to the hatred of the town. One of them imitated the title of his last work in some doggrel lines, called "A Hymn to Tyburn: Being a sequel to the Hymn to the Pillory." Another lavished his abuse upon him in "The True-Born Hugonot; or Daniel De Foe, a satyr. 1703." The author, a Jacobite of the genuine breed, speaks of him as the idol of the mob, and the oracle of the city, where he had many friends who stood by him in his adversity. He tells us that the five Kentish gentlemen, mentioned in a former part of the work, made an effort to intercede with the government in his behalf; and, also, that two peers visited him in Newgate. With a brazen effrontery, he says, that the sect to which De Foe belonged should be made answerable for his offences; and, as the party had plenty of money, so they should be heavily fined as the shortest way of reforming them. "An Equivalent for Daniel De Foe" was the title of another poetical satire. The noted Thomas Brown produced "A Pleasant Dialogue between the Pillory and Daniel De Foe;" but it is rather a satire upon "the peevish secretary," than upon De Foe. Ned Ward, in a book written against him shortly afterwards, has the following allusion to his late publication:

"The Pillory was but a Hook
To make him write another book:
His lofty Hymn to th' wooden-ruff,
Was to the law a counter-cuff;
And truly, without Whiggish flattery,
A plain assault and downright battery." †

* Cibber's Lives of the Poets, vol. iv. † Dissenting Hypocrite, p. 3.

There are some virtues, the strength of which can only be proved by adversity. Before his prosecution, De Foe's circumstances were sufficiently flourishing to enable him to maintain his coach, and the other appurtenancies of a respectable establishment. In consequence of his long imprisonment, he could no longer attend to his Pantile works, which produced the chief source of his revenue; and in the absence of the principal, they were obliged to be given up. By this affair, he lost, as he himself tells us, upwards of three thousand five hundred pounds, and was again reduced to ruin. He had now a wife and six children dependent upon him, with no other resource for their support than the product of his pen. In this trying situation, the virtue of De Foe was put to a severe test. Had he chosen to desert his principles, and to enlist himself in the service of the government, he might have escaped with a slight punishment, and probably have enriched his family. Whilst his enemies, secretly mortified at the justice and severity of his sarcasm, were treating him with so much rigour, they had the highest opinion of his talents, of which they would have gladly availed themselves. We are told by Oldmixon, that the Earl of Nottingham sent, if he did not go to him in Newgate, and offered him the mercy of the government, if he would discover who set him on to write his "Shortest Way." But this was needless; for all who were acquainted with De Foe, as the same writer observes, "know he needed no setting on to put such a trick on a party, of whose understandings as well as principles, he had no good opinion."* It is probably to some tampering with him by the nobleman before-mentioned, that De Foe alludes in the following lines, addressed to the pillory:

"What are thy terrors, that for fear of thee,
Mankind can dare to sink their honesty?

* Oldmixon's Hist. Engl. iii. 301.

He's bold to impudence that dare turn knave,
The scandal of thy company to save:
He that will crimes he never knew, confess,
Does more than if he knew those crimes, transgress:
And he that fears thee more than to be base,
May want a heart, but does not want a face."

The foregoing particulars may serve to refute a calumny propagated against him by Leslie, in his "Rehearsal;" That he would have made any submission to have been excused the pillory. "Which," says De Foe, "Till he can tell the world what submissions they were he offered to make, must stand for one of the most scandalous slanders any man that pretends to truth, can be guilty of." *

It was not likely that a work which attracted so much attention as "The Shortest Way," would pass for any length of time unnoticed by the numerous pamphleteers of the day. Several answers were accordingly published, possessing various degrees of merit, of which those that have fallen under the writer's observation, shall be briefly noticed.

The first that claims attention is intitled, "Reflections upon a late Scandalous and Malicious Pamphlet, intitled, 'The Shortest Way with the Dissenters; or, Proposals for the Establishment of the Church.' To which the said pamphlet is prefixed entire by itself. Lond. 1703." 4to. This is evidently the production of an honest, well-meaning man: in politics, a Whig; in religion, a Dissenter. Considering his adversary as a thorough-paced Jacobite, and his work a serious performance, he treats the subject with a corresponding gravity, and enters into a long historical detail for the purpose of turning the tables upon him. How well De Foe had concealed his design, is evident from the testimony of his present opponent, who classes him with the high-flyers; but by the time he composed his preface,

* Review, iii. 218.

reports had reached him of his being a Dissenter. In this state of uncertainty as to the party he belonged to, he says, "Let him be serious or otherwise, it's plain that he argues their cause, and insists upon the same topics that are to be found in the pamphlets and sermons which have been printed against the Dissenters since King William's death. The ill-applied text, which we had not long ago from a city-pulpit, relating to Elijah's treatment of Baal's prophets, has the same moral with this author's advice of hanging up the Dissenting ministers.(L) The author of '*The New Association*' betwixt the Dissenters and moderate Churchmen, to undermine the present government, gives a charge which would subject both those parties to the like cruel treatment. The continual snarls in that malicious libel called '*The Poetical Observator*,' against the same persons, shew the like design to expose them. The same is to be said of Mr. Sacheverell's '*Political Union*,' '*The Character of a Low-Churchman*,' and other pamphlets of the same stamp. And the general charge of hypocrisy against the Dissenters and moderate Churchmen, by those who do all they can to deprive them of their birth-right as Englishmen, proceeds from the same spirit."

Another pamphlet more nearly allied to wit, but less courteous in its style, is intitled, "The Shortest Way with the Dissenters: or, Proposals for the Establishment of the Church. With its Author's Brief Explication considered; his name exposed; his practices detected; and his hellish designs set in a true light, that the party which stickles for him may rightly know him, and that which is against him, continue to triumph over him. *Crimine ab uno disce omnes nec Defensoribus istis Tempus egit. Virg. Æn. Lond.* 1703." 4to. The title sufficiently announces this to be the work of a high-churchman, and would lead the reader

(L) The author here refers to Mr. Stubbs's Sermon, "For God or for Baal: or, no Neutrality in Religion. 1702." 4to.

to expect some information respecting the author of "The Shortest Way," if it was only in the way of libel; but all is noise and bluster, terminating in two short conclusions: that the Dissenters are a very absurd and insolent people for thinking they ought to possess any political rights; and that the Church of England, "which is all meekness and patience," and "the purest and most flourishing church in the world," has an indisputable claim to sovereignty. It is true, this author is not for pursuing them with fire and faggot. "We would not," says he, "make the unrighteous seem persecuted for righteousness' sake; but since neither the precepts of the gospel, nor the encouragement of the law can bring them over, we should make it our endeavour to dispossess them of those posts that give 'em an advantage over us. Places of trust of right belong to those who are best qualified for 'em;" and who should these be, but such as, in the language of this writer, "are bred and read in the doctrines and institutions of the Church of England!" So that Dissenters are not the only people who are fond of the loaves and fishes. His anxiety for their welfare is displayed in the following curious passage. "Other reigns, and other parliaments consulted the ease of your bodies, but neglected the welfare of your precious souls, as they gave you permission to swallow down oaths, and digest sacraments, which had always been held for loathsome, and damnable in the eyes of those whom ye call unsuperstitious. Your saviour, King William, that redeemed you when you were in no other bondage than the freedom of being tolerated to sin, suffered you to go on with your shew, to dissemble with God Almighty, to frequent his altars, and afterwards return to the House of Rimmon, and give thanks for rising up in rebellion against the Lord's anointed. But a lady now sits on the throne, who, though sprung from that blood which ye and your forefathers spilt before the palace-gates, puts on a temper

of forgiveness, and in compassion to your consciences, is not willing that you should lose the hopes of heaven by purchasing here on earth. She would have no more Sir Humphreys tempt the justice of God, by falling from his *true worship*, and giving ear to the *cat-calls* and *back-pipes* at *Paul's;* would have your Sir Thomas's* keep to their primitive text, and not venture damnation to play at *long-spoon* and *custard* for a transitory twelvemonth; and would have your Sir Tom sing psalms at Highgate-Hill, and split texts of scripture with his diminutive figure of a chaplain,† without running the hazard of qualifying himself to be called a handsome man, for riding on horseback before the city train-bands." In his abundant kindness to the Dissenters, he recommends them to forward the bill that was to exclude them from places of trust in the state.

De Foe's work gave rise to "A Shorter Way with the Dissenters. Lond. 1703;" and "The Safest Way with the Dissenters, being an Answer to a late Book, intitled, &c. Lond. 1703." The way of the last writer is *to let them alone*, as the likeliest mode to accomplish their ruin. A female writer attacked him in "A Fair Way with the Dissenters and their Patrons. Not writ by Mr. L——y, or any other furious Jacobite, whether Clergyman or Layman; but by a very moderate Person, and dutiful subject to the Queen. Lond. 1704." 4to. This "very moderate person," who was Mrs. Astell, would fain persuade the Dissenters, "That their destruction as a party would neither hurt their consciences, persons, nor estates; that no injury would follow to them thereupon, but that it would make for their interest and real good; and that they ought to think themselves obliged to help forward the work, or be accounted notorious hypocrites." These paradoxes are handled by her with a gravity that seems at variance with the possession of a sane

* Sir Thomas Abney. † Dr. Watts.

mind. But this was an extraordinary age; and persons who valued themselves upon their understanding, often advanced matters that could not be reconciled with its healthy exercise. Another writer adopted the title of "The Shortest Way with Whores and Rogues; or, a New Project for Reformation. Dedicated to Mr. Daniel De Foe, Author of 'The Shortest Way with the Dissenters.' London: Printed in the year 1703." 12mo. pp. 106. The snarling dedication is all that has a reference to De Foe, or to his pamphlet. The body of the work is occupied in an admonition to nineteen different sorts of sinners, with examples under each head. It is written much in the manner of Dunton, and contains many maxims of piety, mixed up with much that is absurd and ridiculous.(L)

Another of De Foe's antagonists adopted the title of "The Fox with his Fire-brand unkennelled and ensnared; or, a Short Answer to Mr. Daniel Foe's 'Shortest Way with the Dissenters.' As also to his Brief Explication of the same. Together with some animadversions upon the Sham-Reflections made upon his Shortest Way, and printed with the same. London: printed in the year 1703." 4to. The author puts the following motto in his title: "No men have been more injuriously used, as to their legal rights, than the Bishops and Churchmen. These, as the fattest deer, must be destroyed; the other rascal herd of schisms, heresies, &c. being lean, may enjoy the benefit of a Toleration.—*K. Char. on the Covenant.*" The writer says, that if a timely discovery had not been made of the author, "The bantling had been infallibly laid at St. James's-gate, or the

(L) Under the head of "The Shortest Way with the Persecutor," the author relates the following anecdote of De Foe's early pastor: "I'm told that Justice Balch died signing a warrant for seizing that eminent servant of Christ, Dr. Samuel Annesley. And 'tis certain, for I heard it myself, that when the devil came for his soul, he made such hideous roaring as frighted all his neighbours in Spittlefields."

chapel-door." He thinks, "it had been better for him, if he had kept to his burning of bricks, or selling stockings, as the best way to keep him from dying in his shoes;" and says, "these are a sort of crimes that have cost us too dear in England; and we don't desire such dialogues, or playing the fool betwixt jest and earnest, to bring us back again into the same circumstances." He might have added, that the bigots of his day, by driving men to desperation, were preparing the materials for a conflict; and that if they did not relish being turned into a jest, they should not have shown the fool's coat that provoked it.

De Foe's pamphlet was also animadverted upon in "The New Association, Part II., with farther improvements. As another and later Scots' Presbyterian Covenant, besides that mentioned in the former part, and the Proceedings of that party since. An Answer to some objections in the pretended D. Foe's Explication; in the Reflections upon 'The Shortest Way:' with Remarks upon both. Also an Account of several other pamphlets which carry on, and plainly discover, the design to undermine and blow up the present church and government. Particularly, the Discovery of a certain Secret History, not yet published. With a Short Account of the Original of Government, compared with the schemes of the Republicans and Whigs. Printed and sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster. 1703. Price one shilling." 4to. The work bearing this long and heterogeneous title, exceeds, if possible, in virulence and vulgarity, the part that had gone before. Nothing can equal the assurance and scurrility of this writer, nor compensate for the total absence of that spirit of forbearance, which is far before all the ceremonials of religion. His language is as coarse as his ideas, and both as ill-suited to the dignity of a scholar as to the candour of a Christian. The author of the "Reflections," just mentioned, meets with as little quarter from him as De Foe; and in general, all who plead

for moderation, or for any just notions of religion and liberty, are alike subject to his lash. Charles Leslie, the author of this bitter invective, was a violent writer in behalf of the Jacobites throughout this reign; but his notions upon religion and government were better suited to the age of Saint Dominic.

About the same time, there appeared "A Dialogue between a Dissenter and the Observator, concerning 'The Shortest Way with the Dissenters.' Lond. 1703." 4to. This work was supposed at the time to have been written by De Foe, and is included in the spurious collection of his writings; but being omitted in the one made by himself, it may have been the work of some other writer. There are passages in it, however, which bear a strong resemblance to the style of De Foe. Tutchin was the author of the "Observator," one of the speakers in the dialogue; but whether he talks himself, or is personated by another, he ably defends the character of De Foe, and stands forward as the champion of his opinions. The object of the work is to convict the Dissenters of blindness and ingratitude towards our author, and to reprehend them for their inconsistency in the affair of occasional conformity. Of their behaviour to De Foe, it is impossible to speak in terms creditable to their understandings; for even after it was discovered that his arrows were shot at the high-flyers, they united with their adversaries in attempting to crush the most ingenious writer their party could boast. By way of satire upon their obtuseness, the dialogue-writer says, "The Author of the 'Shortest Way' comes with a lanthorn for you, and he sums up all the black things this high party had published, into one general; and if you had any eyes, you might learn two things for which he is like to pay dear enough for teaching you: *First*,—From the general abhorrence mankind shewed of the book, you might learn that the destruction of our party is a cruelty not to be found

in the English nation. *Secondly*,—From the outcry made against it by that party in particular, you might learn who they are that were touched in the book, and where the design lay. As to the quarrel you Dissenters have with the book, that's a mystery no man can unriddle but yourselves." The following observation is justified by experience: "I am of opinion, that if your enemies were true masters of politics, they would not persecute you at all. I take you to be a declining party; toleration will be your ruin; and if God in mercy to you don't send a persecution, you are lost,—you will all dwindle back into the church again."

There is an attack upon De Foe and Tutchin, in the preface to "The Memorial of the Presbyterians. Lond. 1706," in which they are described as "a pair of republican orators, mercenary hirelings, and weekly scribblers of the party." The author, who was most probably Leslie, says, "*The Shortest Way with the Dissenters* was done with as much moderation (but irony was the pretence when the beast of prey was caught) as his late moderation against the Church of England (under the notion of that villanous term of high-church) in his *Reviews*, and the other in his *Observators*." He adds, "that one P——e, a broker, had kept out of the way for publishing and dispersing a half sheet which was wrote by D. D. F." De Foe's pamphlet was noticed, more or less, by most of the high-flyers in their publications at this period.

CHAPTER V.

De Foe's Occupations in Newgate.—He publishes a Poem on Reformation of Manners.—In which he attacks the Vices of the Age.—His Defence of the Work.—The Impartiality of his Censures.—He exposes the Knavery of Projectors.—And reprobates the Traffic in Slaves.—He publishes another Poem called "More Reformation".—Defends himself from Reproaches.—His Rebuke to the Dissenting Clergy.—He publishes "The Shortest Way to Peace and Union."—Pirated Edition of his Works.—Cibber's Account of it.—De Foe publishes a Genuine Collection.—Its Contents.—Description of his Portrait.—His Apology for the Undertaking.—King William's Affection for the Church of England, an Ironical Satire by De Foe.—Dunton's Satire upon King William.

1703.

We are now to contemplate De Foe for some time a prisoner in Newgate, as a victim of political resentment. And here it is natural to remark, that the custom, still continued, of confining persons for political offences, who are usually men of education and character, within the walls of the same prison with thieves and murderers, and the very scum of society, betrays an indelicacy of feeling, not to say wanton cruelty, that is utterly revolting to the refinement and liberality that are so much the boast of the age. In a strain of manly satire, De Foe could say:—

> "Stone walls do not a prison make,
> Nor iron bars a cage;
> Minds innocent and quiet take
> That for a hermitage." *

* Hymn to the Pillory.

The leisure of De Foe, in the time of his captivity, was not that of idleness nor dissipation. If he mixed with the other prisoners, as he must have been necessitated sometimes to do, they would be conciliated by his kindness, as well as attracted by the fascinations of his wit; and there can be no doubt, although the fact is not distinctly recorded, that he improved the opportunity for conveying to the ignorant and the wicked, that moral and religious instruction, which he knew so well how to adapt to their capacities. Some of his subsequent writings also show, that he now stored his mind with those facts relative to the habits and pursuits of the prisoners, which he has detailed with so much nature as well as interest. The low characters that form the subjects of some of his novels, were probably taken from real life, and the sketches drawn at this period of his history. But a part of his leisure was devoted to the composition of some political works, which it will be our business now to notice.

A little before his prosecution, De Foe had amused himself by composing a rather long poem, intitled, "Reformation of Manners. A Satyr. *Væ Vobis Hypocritæ.* Printed in the year 1702." 4to. pp. 64. In a brief preface, he explodes the idea entertained by some people, "who are loth to be told of their errors," that "No man is qualified to reprove other men's faults, but he that has none of his own;" which, if true, he says, would put an end to the execution of the laws, and do away with instruction altogether.

He that takes to himself the post of a reformer, assumes a very unthankful office, and so our author found it; but he glories in the character, and sets scandal at defiance. "If any men," says he, "are injured by the characters, he is content they should carry their resentment to what extremity they please; but if truth be on his side, the only way to make him do them justice, is to reform; and he promises to give testimony to their repentance, as an *amende honorable*,

in a manner as public as possible." The taste of the nation generally, he sums up in a single line—

"One man reads Milton, forty Rochester."

De Foe attacks the vices of the age with great vigour, sparing neither high nor low, citizen nor courtier; and if he alludes to particular individuals, he spares their names in hopes of their reformation. In reply to the charge, that he had made too free with the characters of men, he says, in a subsequent publication, "I have always carefully avoided lashing any man's private infirmities, as being too sensible of my own. But, if I have singled out any man by character, it has been either, such as pretending to reform others and execute the laws against vice, have been the great examples and encouragers of it in their own practice; or, such as have been trusted with the executive power of justice, and, having been called upon by the laws to reform us, have been a public reproach to the magistracy of this nation, and ought to be punished by the laws they have been protected by. I have never made any man's disasters and misfortunes the subject of my satyr. I never reproached any man for his opinions in religion, nor used him the worse for differing from me." To evidence his impartiality, he adds, "I know no Whig nor Tory in vice; the vicious and the virtuous are the only two parties I have to do with. If a vicious, lewd, debauched magistrate happened to be a Whig,—what then? Let him mend his manners, and he may be a Whig still; and if not, the rest ought to be ashamed of him."* This passage places the ingenuous feelings of our author in an advantageous light. "Though he was a resolute assertor of Whig principles, and a champion for the cause of liberty, yet was he never blinded by party-prejudice, but could discern designing and selfish men, and strip them of their disguises, though joined with him in the same political contests."†

* More Reformation.—*Pref.* † Cibber's Lives of the Poets, vol. iv.

The knavery of projectors, who raise themselves upon the ruin of the credulous, is not peculiar to our own time. De Foe says of those in his day,—

> "Some in clandestine companies combine,
> Erect new stocks to trade beyond the line;
> With air and empty names beguile the town,
> And raise new credits first, then cry 'em down;
> Divide the empty nothing into shares,
> To set the town together by the ears."

In this poem De Foe strongly reprobates the traffic in human beings, long before its impropriety was generally suspected. After censuring the avarice of those whose thirst for gold conducted them to an untimely grave, beneath the scorching rays of an African sun, he says,

> "The harmless natives basely they trepan,
> And barter baubles for the souls of men:
> The wretches they to Christian climes bring o'er
> To serve worse heathens than they did before."

Contrasting the conduct of the slave owners with that of the Spaniards, who butchered the people of Mexico to possess their gold, "And left one third of God's creation void," he gives the palm of superior mercy to the latter:—

> "Blood quenched their thirst, and it sufficed to kill.
> But these the tender *coup-de-grace* deny,
> And make men beg in vain for leave to die:
> To more than Spanish cruelty inclin'd,
> Torment the body and debauch the mind;
> The ling'ring life of slavery preserve,
> And vilely teach them both to sin and serve."

During his confinement, De Foe pursued the subject of his poem, in a work bearing the following title: "More Reformation. A satyr upon Himself. By the Author of the True-Born Englishman. London, printed in the year 1703," 4to. pp. 52. He commences by observing,

that the world had used him so severely of late, that he was under the necessity of descending to what he had always an aversion for—a long Preface. "I confess," says he, "according to the custom of the times, he that writes any thing which may be misunderstood, ought to expect to be misunderstood; and the reason is, because he that knew the defect of custom, ought to have fenced against it." He had already discovered to his cost,

> "That he who first reforms a vicious town,
> Prevents their ruin, but completes his own."

De Foe observes, that the liberty the world had taken with his character, was the occasion of his writing this book. "'Tis hard," says he, "that when a man under the public resentment, was obliged to keep out of the way, the whole world should fly at him like a dog with a broom at his tail, reckon up all the faults of his life, and ten thousand more than ever he committed, to be the common-places of their general discourse, taking the advantage of his absence, when he was not able to answer for himself. Nay, so extravagant was the whole world, that one had wit little enough, as well as manners, to challenge me in print, when he knew at the same time, there was a reward of fifty pounds to be given to him that would discover where I was. This was such a satire upon all the rest, that really, instead of fighting that gentleman, I would thank him if I knew who he was, as a person that was willing to show himself a coxcomb, that other people might see their own pictures. (M) In this universal humour of mobbing one, some gentlemen have descended very much beneath their own character, as well as honesty,

(M) The author of "The Shortest Way with Whores and Rogues," says to him, "Accept this gentle dedication and seasonable warning from one that neither loves nor fears you, and were it lawful, dares meet you at any time with a brighter weapon than a pen."

to the disgrace of good manners, and the scandal of their education. If I should resent all the scoundrel usage I have met with, and some of it from my friends, I must certainly prepare to die with my shoes on, and therefore I choose to let it pass, as that which is really more shame to the author of scandal than to me. But that the world may see I am not one of those that practise what I reprove, I began this satire with owning in myself those sins and misfortunes which I am no more exempted from than other men; and as I am far from pretending to be free from human frailties, but forwarder to confess any of the errors of my life than any man can be to accuse me, I think myself in a better way to reformation, than those who excuse their own faults by reckoning up mine;"

> "Confession will anticipate reproach,
> He that reviles us then, reviles too much;
> All satire ceases when the men repent,
> 'Tis cruelty to lash the penitent."

He adds, in his own defence—"And yet, gentlemen, I desire not to be mistaken; for, as I will never hide my infirmities, so I am not obliged to confess sins I never committed: and, therefore, speaking to the vicious, with whom I have been so free, I must say, I was not in their debt this acknowledgment. For, though I have been a man of misfortunes, and one of the greatest has been to be wrongfully accused, yet I have the comfort of this negative, if negative virtues can be any comfort, that I have not been a man of vice; and whatever malice may have the ill-nature to suggest, I venture to say, without pride, no man can charge me with it. I forbear to say any thing farther than thankfulness to restraining goodness extorts; for I count a man no proper advocate for himself. But if I must act the Pharisee a little, I must begin thus: God, I thank thee, I am not a drunkard, or a swearer, or

a whore-master, or a busy-body, or idle or revengeful, &c., and though this be true, and I challenge all the world to prove the contrary, yet I must own, I see small satisfaction in all the possible negatives of common virtue: For though I have not been guilty of any of these vices, nor of many more, I have nothing to infer from thence but, *Te Deum Laudamus.*"

In reference to his recent prosecution, he says, "They who expect I should say any thing of my own matters relating to 'The Shortest Way,' will be mistaken. So far as that book has displeased the government, I have surrendered at discretion, and having voluntarily committed myself to the public clemency, have no more to say but this: It is the Queen, let her Majesty do what seems good in her eyes." He, however, glances at his case in the following passage:

> "And would'st thou now describe a modern tool,
> To wit, to parties, and himself a fool;
> Embroil'd with state to do his friends no good,
> And by his friends themselves misunderstood;
> Misconstru'd first in every word he said,
> By these unpitied, and by those unpaid?
> All men would say the picture was thy own,
> No gazette-marks were half so quickly known."

De Foe remarks, that the good intentions of a writer are of little value unless they come recommended by success. He therefore warns his muse to beware of irony for the future, as he might expect to meet with something worse than labour for his pains. In dealing with the times, he says, it is prudent sometimes to indulge men in their ignorance, rather than to open their eyes at the risk of putting out our own; and that if we would avoid the certainty of being misunderstood, we must be careful to use plain and familiar language. Towards the close of the poem, he alludes with great feeling to the ingratitude of the Dissenting clergy, who deserted him in his distress, and even refused him the cheap benefit of their prayers.

"Satire, look back, and former days review,
How stood it once betwixt the tribe and you,
In prosperous days their conscious pride must know,
You fed those priests that scorn to own you now.
With constant charity relieved their poor,
For which they'll stone thee now 'tis in their power;
With just contempt look back upon their pride,
And now despise the gift which they denied;
But let thy charity their crime outlive,
And what they seldom practice, now forgive.
For heaven, without their help, upholds thee here,
He only claims thy thanks who hears thy prayer."

Whilst he was under prosecution, and still uncertain as to what might be its issue, our author sent forth "The Shortest Way to Peace and Union. By the author of 'The Shortest Way with the Dissenters.' Lond. Printed in the year 1703." 4to. pp. 26. In this work, he lays aside the character of a partizan, and assumes that of a peace-maker; stimulated in part, no doubt, by the prospect of his impending trial, and no less by the ill effects that he had witnessed from the intemperance of other writers. In order to moderate the asperity of the contending parties, he touches their faults with a gentle hand, and recommends peace, union and charity, as the best lenitives for the wounds of the nation. He justly observes, that we are not to form our ideas of either party from the violent men who belong to them, but from the general practice and known principles of the body; and he is of opinion, that by exercising the temper of charity, an approximation might take place in their affections, if not in their sentiments. He says much in behalf of peace, charity, and civil demeanour; but his advice, as usually happens in such cases, was thrown away, and he received the thanks of neither party.

This is, in truth, one of the worst of De Foe's political pamphlets. It is easy to perceive that his genius was cramped; for he gives us no digressions of wit, and his

language is tame and spiritless. Much of his reasoning also is inconclusive. And here let it be observed, that altho' it is clearly the interest of all parties to cultivate a spirit of forbearance, and to practise the law of kindness, yet, no one is called upon in conscience to cede his political rights, although the force of circumstances may oblige him for a time to wave the assertion of them. He who pleads his religion as an excuse for surrendering his liberty, is unworthy the name of a man, and fit only for the society of monks and enthusiasts.

During the early part of De Foe's confinement, some speculating printer or bookseller, taking advantage of his popularity, formed a scheme for collecting his pieces, and publishing them together in a volume for his own benefit. The work was but indifferently executed in every respect; being printed upon coarse paper, and abounding in typographical errors. Besides these defects, it comprised only a small portion of De Foe's writings, and included some pieces that he disclaimed. The piracy is thus noticed by Cibber: "A printer of a bad reputation collected a spurious and erroneous copy of several pieces of De Foe, and entitled them 'The Works of the Author of the True-Born Englishman;" and though he was then embroiled with the government, for one of the pamphlets which this collection contained, yet had this man the impudence to print amongst them the same pamphlet, presuming so far upon the partiality of the public resentment, that he should pass with impunity for publishing that very thing for which the author was to be prosecuted with the utmost severity. This, however, was an irresistible testimony, that the resentment shewn to the author was on some other, and less justifiable account, than the publication of that book; so was it a severe satire on the unwariness of the ministry, who had not eyes to discern their injustice plainly exposed, and their general proceedings bantered by a printer, for publishing in defiance

of them, that same book for which another man stood arraigned."* (N)

Indignant at this bare-faced imposition upon the public, and not less at the injury done to himself, De Foe prepared to defeat it, by publishing a genuine collection, with his own impress. This he gave to the world with the following title: "A True collection of the Writings of the Author of 'The True-Born Englishman.' Corrected by himself. London, Printed and are to be sold by most Booksellers in London and Westminster, 1703." 8vo. pp. 465.

The volume comprises twenty-two treatises in prose and verse, being most of the pieces he had formerly published; but some few are omitted for reasons that he has not assigned. (o) A likeness of the author, engraved by M. Vandergucht, from a painting by Taverner, is prefixed. It is the first portrait of De Foe, and probably the most like him. The

(N) The work is intitled "A Collection of the Writings of the Author of The True-Born Englishman," and contains thirteen tracts, two of which are omitted in the genuine collection, and therefore may be presumed not to be by De Foe. These are, "A Dialogue between a Dissenter and the Observator, concerning The Shortest Way with the Dissenters;" and "*Lex Talionis*: Or an Enquiry into the most proper Ways to prevent the Prosecution of the Protestants in France."

(o) The following are the abridged titles of the pieces contained in it. 1. The True-Born Englishman. 2. The Mock Mourners. 3. Reformation of Manners. 4. Character of Dr. Annesley. 5. The Spanish Descent. 6. Original Power of the People of England. 7. The Freeholders' Plea. 8. Reasons against a War with France. 9. Argument on a Standing Army. 10. Danger of the Protestant Religion. 11. Villany of Stock Jobbers. 12. Six Distinguishing Characters of a Parliament Man. 13. Poor Man's Plea. 14. Enquiry into Occasional Conformity: With a Preface to Mr. How. 15. Letter to Mr. How, by way of Reply to his Considerations of the Preface. 16. Two Great Questions considered. 17. Two Great Questions farther considered. 18. Enquiry into Occasional Conformity. 19. New Test of the Church of England's Loyalty. 20. Shortest Way with the Dissenters. 21. Brief Explanation of the Shortest Way. 22. Shortest Way to Peace and Union.

* Cibber's Lives of the Poets, vol. iv

following description of it by a recent biographer, is strikingly characteristic: "No portrait can have more verisimilitude, to say the least of it. It exhibits a set of features rather regular than otherwise, very determined in their outlines, more particularly the mouth, which expresses great firmness and resolution of character. The eyes are full, black and grave-looking; but the impression of the whole countenance is rather a striking than a pleasing one. Daniel is here set forth in a most lordly and full-bottomed wig, which flows down lower than his elbow, and rises above his forehead with great amplitude of curl. A richly laced cravat, and fine loose flowing cloak, completes his attire, and preserve, we may suppose, the likeness of that civic 'gallantry,' which Oldmixon ascribes to Daniel, on the occasion of his escorting King William to the Lord Mayor's feast. It is altogether more like the picture of a substantial citizen of the 'surly breed' De Foe himself has so often satirized, than that of a poor pamphleteer languishing in jail after the terrors of the pillory." *

This collection of his works, De Foe introduces to the world with great modesty. "'Tis not from any opinion I have of the value of my own performances," says he, "nor from the fondness of appearing in print, having so lately suffered for it, that I have consented to this publication." He tells us, that it originated in the surreptitious collection which had been palmed upon the world as his, and contained several things that he had no hand in, as well as others which had been vilely mangled. He says, he had first applied himself to correct the mistakes, until they amounted to above 300, when, being weary of the task, "he resolved to disabuse the world, and do justice to himself with a corrected copy." He thought it a most unaccountable piece of boldness in a piratical printer, to include that

* Pref. to Cadell's edit. of Robinson Crusoe.

particular book called "The Shortest Way with the Dissenters," at a time that he lay under the public resentment for it; and further observes, "Though the government may indeed punish one criminal and let another go free, yet it seems a little hard that I should suffer for printing a book, and another print it in the face of the government to get money by it." In reference to the piracy, he says, "The honesty of the matter I shall not meddle with, because I find 'tis what the person does not concern himself about, but justifies: which he can do upon no other foundation than he may the taking my hat from my head, or my purse on the road."

De Foe sums up his preface by saying, "They that search for faults may find them plenty, and they that will mend them for me shall always have my acknowledgment for the kindness; but he that would make faults when there is none, has little charity and less honesty." A second edition of this volume was printed in 1705, with some additions; and the tracts published by the author in the intervening time were put into a second volume. In this, as well as in many of his other works, he cautions the public against the spurious collection. (P)

Whilst the minds of men were alternately amused and exasperated at the irony of "The Shortest Way," another publication directed to the same object, and couched also in the language of banter, started into notice. It is intitled, "King William's Affection to the Church of England Exa-

(P) The following advertisement appears in some of them:—"Whereas, there is a spurious collection of the writings of Mr. De Foe, author of 'The True-Born Englishman,' which contain several things not writ by the said author, and those that were are full of errors, mistakes, and omissions, which invert the sense and design of the author. This is to give notice, That the genuine collection, price six shillings, is corrected by himself, with additions never before printed, hath the author's picture before it, curiously engraved on copper by M. Vandergucht; and contains more than double the number of tracts inserted in the said spurious collection.'

mined. London: printed in the year 1703." 4to. pp. 26. If not penned by De Foe, it was the production of a kindred writer, who has well imitated his satire; but there is reason to believe that he has the claim to it. (Q) Behind a masked battery, he points his ridicule at the high party, with whom the reign of William was a sore subject; nor did the government concern itself in the vindication of his character. Upon this account, the writer had nothing to fear, even if he had been ever so serious.

Of the strain of speaking and writing concerning King William, which was then become popular, the following may serve as a specimen: "There is not a more common, nor more credited reflection upon the friends of the church, and the present government, than that of ingratitude to King William. Every Whiggish cabal is full of it; and a man can scarce come into the company of one of these new grumblers, without being deafened by their fulsome cant of forgetting the late king and all his mighty magnified actions for the Church of England." But, continues he, "That the church was in so forlorn a condition when the Prince of Orange came to England; or that he, with his tattered regiments, had the good luck, or the honour to save it; or that he afterwards used the power put into his hands for the service of the church; or that he ever was a true friend to it, are paradoxes which the multitude seem to swallow by wholesale, and are crammed down their throats by a sort of mongrel churchmen, who, indeed, made their own advantage of King William's reign, by engrossing the best preferments. But by such as these, the poor Church of England has ever been betrayed; and I wish the danger of these false friends, these Dutch churchmen, be yet over. But, alas! we have daily experiences of these men's friend-

(Q) Some of De Foe's enemies charged him with writing against King William; but I know not upon what ground such a notion can have gone abroad, unless it was in allusion to this ironical performance.

ship to the church, in their constant opposition to those good bills which are designed to settle it on the foot it stood in good King Charles's reign." As the ministers of King James's measures were then in power, the author refers to the circumstance as a sufficient satire upon the Revolution. "Are there not," says he, "many worthy men now in high offices, who bore a great part in that exploded government? These are living witnesses of the innocent designs of that unhappy king, and that whatever the Whigs call his plots to bring in Popery, slavery, and arbitrary power, were barely some mistaken measures which common heads fancied to lean a little that way; but that the true design of that unhappy prince was the establishment of the true Protestant Church of England, and old liberty and property to all his subjects." And that this is a true account of the matter, he says, "What can be more plain than to see the same good mistaken patriots now the ministers and favorites of a government, where we are sure nothing is nearer their hearts than the Church of England."

Towards the close of the work, the author drops his disguise, and referring to the calumniators of William, pours forth his native sentiments in the language of true eloquence: "If men of these principles and practices," says he, "are the only genuine sons of the Church established; if the vilest ingratitude must pass for the characteristic of a true churchman; if an insufferable insolence to the memory of the best of princes must be a mark of affection and sincerity to the Church of England; if thanking God for King William in the offices of the church, and cursing his very ashes upon all other occasions, must be the distinction of the Church's real friends, and they who do such things must be the only men of true undissembled religion; why then *sit anima mea cum Philosophis:* Let heresy, let schism, let low-church fanaticism, or any other controverted reproach asperse me. But let not base ingratitude, owned by all the

world to be the vilest, horridest wickedness, and inconsistent with any degree of good, and the sure mark of a soul disposed for all sorts of villany; let not this monster be laid at my door; let it never be said, that I owe my religion, estate, and liberty, under God's providence, to a generous prince, and when he is laid in the dust, that I dare openly call that great benefactor a tyrant or knave: or, though such a wickedness may be charged on a few private wretches, let the sons of the Church of England never suffer by such an unnatural distinction; nor any of its fathers be ever so infamously dignified or distinguished."

If the design of the writer is not so artfully concealed as in "The Shortest Way," his sarcasm is sufficiently pointed to convey the bitterest reproach; and the present work must have been an useful auxiliary to that performance, in unmasking the real designs of the party in power. (R)

(R) With the same design as the above pamphlet, another writer now published "A Satyr upon King William; being the Secret History of his Life and Reign. Written by a Gentleman that was near his Person for many years. The Second Edition. London: Printed in the year 1703." 8vo. pp. 84. In this work, the writer runs through the principal events in William's life, both before and after he came to the crown of England. He also takes a review of the leading points in his character; but his language savours more of panegyric than of satire. Indeed, the work throughout is poor and spiritless, and shews the writer to have been wholly devoid of the talent that is essential to the production of irony. His design is bare-faced from the beginning, and therefore fails in the effect which disguise alone could have communicated to his satire. A perusal of the work afforded a strong suspicion that it was from the pen of Dunton; and a reference to his "Athenianism" confirms the conjecture.

CHAPTER VI.

Samuel Wesley writes against the Private Academies of the Dissenters.—Exposure of his Ingratitude.—Answered by Palmer.—Wesley replies.—Remarks upon the subject.—De Foe replies to him, in his "More Short Ways."—Mr. Palmer publishes a second pamphlet upon the subject.—Misrepresentations of party writers.—Wesley closes the Controversy with another pamphlet.—Notice of Mr. Palmer.—Calves'-Head Club.—Made an Occasion to abuse the Dissenters.—Account of it by Leslie.—And Sacheverell.—Brought forward by the Editors of Clarendon.—Oldmixon's Remarks.—Dissenters vindicated from any Participation in it.—By Mr. Shute.—By Thomas Bradbury.—And by De Foe.—Politics of the Dissenters defended.—Publications upon the Calves'-Head Club.—Ward's Account of its Origin and Proceedings.—Remarks upon the Abuse of the Thirtieth of January.—Publication of Lord Clarendon's History.—De Foe's Account of it.

1703.

Amongst those who assisted to blacken the Dissenters, at this time, in order to render them odious to the government, was the well-known rector of Epworth, the Rev. Samuel Wesley, father of the celebrated founder of Methodism, and who had been born and educated amongst them. Having penned some thoughts concerning their mode of education, intermixed with many gross reflections that deeply affected their character, he transmitted them to a particular friend, who had applied to him for information upon the subject. After slumbering nearly ten years in manuscript, from whence it would have been well for the reputation of the writer if they had never emerged, they were committed to the press; and, as his biographers say, without his consent or knowledge. Truth, however, has

nothing to fear from publicity, although it may not always be discreet to circulate it; but the man who can sit down deliberately to the work of slander, has no right to complain at the exposure of his malice and ingratitude. The publication so surreptitiously brought forward, was intitled "A Letter from a Country Divine to his friend in London, concerning the Education of the Dissenters in their Private Academies, in several parts of this Nation. London, Printed for R. Clavel, at the Peacock in St. Paul's Church-yard. 1703." 4to.

The time selected for the publication of this piece, showed the malicious intention of the person who produced it; for the Dissenters were then under the frown of the civil power, and in daily expectation of some fresh act for the curtailment of their liberties. With regard to Mr. Wesley, no excuse can be made for his conduct. If, when he quitted the Dissenters, he had been satisfied with his own conformity, and abstained from any ungenerous reflections upon his former benefactors, no one would have had any right to question his motives, or to impeach his conduct. But, unhappily, he appears always to have been deficient in judgment; and the indiscretion of his friend in thus bringing him before the public, laid him open to the heavy charges of baseness and ingratitude.

It was not long before Mr. Wesley met with a sharp rebuke, in "A Defence of the Dissenters' Education in their Private Academies: In Answer to Mr. W——y's Disingenuous and Unchristian Reflections upon them. In a Letter to a Noble Lord. London: printed and are to be sold by A. Baldwin, at the Oxford Arms, in Warwick Lane. 1703." 4to. pp. 24. The able author of this pamphlet was Mr. Samuel Palmer, a Dissenting minister in Southwark, who having been himself educated in one of those academies, was well acquainted with their internal economy, and undertakes their vindication, as well from his own personal know-

ledge, as from the report of others. He gives a detailed account of the mode of education pursued by his own tutor, Dr. Kerr, and says, that although he cannot be so particular with respect to other academies, yet, he has heard by the most creditable evidence that virtue, piety, and learning, shine very bright amongst them.

In examining the charges brought forward by Mr. Wesley, he exposes their weakness and falsehood, and convicts him of ingratitude to a people, upon whom, for some years, he was dependant for his bread. "He might argue against any of our principles," says he, "and endeavour to convince us in order to our amendment; yet he might not betray our private converse: he might not by artful and false insinuations, endeavour to expose us to contempt. A sense of gratitude ought to have been expressed by a tender regard to our reputation and honour. He ought not to have called us in gross, a sort of people who are none of the best natured in the world, seeing that we fed him but with too kind a hand."

About six months after the appearance of Mr. Palmer's pamphlet, Mr. Wesley replied to it, in "A Defence of a Letter concerning the Education of Dissenters in their Private Academies; with a more full and satisfactory Account of the same, and of their Morals and Behaviour towards the Church of England: being an Answer to the Defence of the Dissenters' Education. By Samuel Wesley. *Noli irritare crabrones!*

"The Kirk's a Vixen; don't anger her."

London. 1704." 4to. pp. 64. Regardless of the injunction in his motto, the writer infused into his pages, a sufficient quantity of irritating matter to draw forth the sting of resentment from the party he had so unjustly provoked.

The Dissenters, being excluded from the public schools, had no other alternative than to institute seminaries of their

own, or to rear their children in ignorance. As it was not reasonable that they should so far accommodate themselves to the prejudices of churchmen as to submit to the latter, the other expedient was the only course before them. It might have been expected by any reasonable person, that the ample endowments of the established church, and the total exclusion of Dissenters from the least participation in them, would have been sufficient to satisfy the most craving mouths, and to quiet the monopolists. But the demands of bigotry are not easily answered, and the more plentiful the food, the more voracious is the appetite. Far from contented with their ecclesiastical privileges, these furious churchmen could not be happy without invading the Dissenters in their own quarters. This was not the first time that they had raised a clamour at their private academies; and in their anxiety to suppress them, but little regard was shown to reason and decency. To a mind cast in the mould of Sacheverell, who was in the foremost of their accusers, it is no wonder that they should appear "an insupportable grievance;" for, in the crucible of party, the most innocent plants are converted by an easy process, into the most deadly poison. It is to be regretted that the name of Wesley should be dishonoured by an association with this church-malignant; but the sons of the prophet too often degenerate from the virtues of their parents, and the converts from the Dissenters at this period, were amongst their bitterest opponents.

De Foe, who had been educated at the same academy as Wesley, and being of the same standing, was, in all probability, his contemporary there, had as great facilities for becoming acquainted with the character and habits of both the tutor and his pupils; but the impression made upon him was widely different. Soon after the appearance of Wesley's second pamphlet, he published "More Short Ways with the Dissenters," in which he takes notice of this attack upon

their academies. As he mixes a variety of other matters in his pamphlet, a more distinct notice of it will be reserved for a future chapter; but, in the mean time, the following passages may be fitly quoted, as bearing directly upon the subject.

Alluding to some recent publications, by Sacheverell and others, De Foe says, "Here is now a new attempt started, which strikes at the root of the Dissenters' interest, and is an effectual way to destroy the succession of them in the nation; and that is, to prevent their educating their children in their own opinions. Possibly, some may be angry if I should call this another *Short Way;* but I must beg leave to say, that next to the methods formerly proposed, this is, doubtless, *"The Shortest Way with the Dissenters."* If I should tell the world that there is an association formed among some gentlemen, to have followed the Occasional Bill with an Act for disabling all such ministers to preach in England, as are not for the future educated in one of the two Universities of Oxford and Cambridge; if I should say, that a mercenary *renegado* was hired to expose the private academies of the Dissenters, as nurseries of rebellious principles, I should say nothing but what was in too many mouths to remain a secret."

In the following passage, he does honour to the memory of his tutor, and chastises the conduct of his ungrateful pupil. "The Reverend Mr. Wesley, author of two pamphlets calculated to blacken our education in the academies of the Dissenters, ingenuously confesses himself guilty of many crimes in his youth, and is the willinger to confess them, as he would lay them at the door of the Dissenters, and their schools, in which he was educated; though I humbly conceive, it is no more proof of the immorality of the Dissenters in their schools, that he was a little rakish among them, or, that he found others like himself—than the hanging five students of Cambridge, in a very short compass of time, for

robbing on the highway, should prove that padding is a science taught at the University. He takes a great deal of pains to prove, that in those academies were, or are taught, anti-monarchical principles; " which De Foe rebuts in the manner stated in the early part of this work, and adds, that he had still by him the manuscripts of those political exercises, which were performed in Mr. Morton's seminary, the inspection of which was at the service of any one who chose to see them. He then says, in allusion to Wesley, "Allow then, that this gentleman fell into ill company afterwards; allow we had, and still have, worse rakes among us than himself—does this prove that our schools teach men thus? And that the Dissenters in general profess principles destructive of monarchy? The schools of the Dissenters, he says, are not so private but they may be known; and they are not so much ashamed of their performances, but that any churchman may be admitted to hear and see what they teach."

Addressing churchmen, in general, De Foe says, "And when all is done, gentlemen, why do we erect private academies, and teach our children by themselves? Even for the same reason that we do not communicate with you; because you shut us out, by imposing unreasonable terms. Open a door to us in your Universities, and let our youth be fairly admitted to study there, without imposing oaths and obligations upon them, and it shall no more be said, that we erect schools in opposition to you. 'Tis confessed, we would ask you to reform the University morals a little, as to the trifles of drunkenness and lewdness, if it might be; but, upon a freedom of study, without unjust and unfair terms, and oaths imposed, we would venture their morals; and it should not be our faults if your Universities had not two thousand of our children always there. But while you shut our children ou' 'hools, never quarrel at our teaching them at n, or sending them into foreign countries;

since, wherever they are taught, they generally get a share of learning at least equal to yourselves, and we hope, partake of as much honesty; and, as to their performances, match them, and out-preach them, if you can: I wish that was the only strife between us."

To the accusations repeated by Wesley, in his second pamphlet, Mr. Palmer rejoined in "A Vindication of the Learning, Loyalty, Morals, and most Christian Behaviour of the Dissenters toward the Church of England. In answer to Mr. Wesley's Defence of his Letter concerning the Dissenters' Education in their Private Academies; and to Mr. Sacheverell's injurious Reflections upon them. By Samuel Palmer. London, printed by J. Lawrence, 1705." The various topics set forth in his title, are illustrated by the author with great ability. In forcible language he maintains the right of the Dissenters to the education of their own children; any argument upon which would, in the present day, be deemed quite superfluous. To deprive them of this privilege, he contends, would be a glaring infringement of the Act of Toleration, and no less injurious to the Church than to the Dissenters: for, in the absence of a learned ministry, ignorant teachers would start up and inflame the people, to the hazard of the Church, and the discredit of all that is sober and rational in religion. He justly observes, that a converse with the learned world has a tendency to soften the rough tempers of men, and to render them less tenacious of their own, as well as more charitable to the errors of others. But prejudice and bigotry are no novelties in church history. The emperor Julian wondered, by the gods! at the stupidity and folly of the Christians, and esteemed them the most foolish, stubborn, and perverse of mankind, for opposing their own judgment against the best religion; "Just as our folly is admired," says Mr. Palmer, for opposing the best Church in the world!" If the academies of Dissenters were so obnoxious to churchmen, they

should have recollected that they had themselves furnished their necessity. For, "It is very easy to make the University door so wide, that every honest man might enter, without leaving his conscience behind him."

From a general defence of academies, and their tutors, Mr. Palmer descends to the particular charges brought against them by Wesley. In addition to the stale cant of sedition, so frequently repeated, and as often refuted, he had also represented them as seminaries of vice and irreligion, than which a more confounded calumny could not have been suggested. In repelling the charge, his opponent does not restrain his indignation at the man, who could deliberately utter so malicious a falsehood; and, in reference to the academy where Wesley was himself educated, he intimates, that he was himself the first, or principal, in the mischief that he so freely lays upon others.

If we were to look for the character of the Dissenters at this period, in the writings of their adversaries, we should have some difficulty in forming a consistent opinion concerning them. At one time they are represented as too mean and contemptible to deserve notice; and at another, as a body sufficiently formidable to rival the Church, and to be an object of serious consequence to the state. These opposite opinions were calculated for the understandings of different people, and are therefore more easily to be reconciled to the object of the writers, than to their reputation for honesty. There was, in truth, much craft mixed up with the malice of these men, whose tales of slander, however they might pass with the people, scarcely imposed upon themselves. Those who are conversant with the language of party, will lend a cautious ear to the reproaches of violent men. The Dissenters of this period, although the sport of popular odium, were in no respect inferior to their adversaries, unless it was in the quality of assurance. They were, indeed, less numerous; but, so far as concerned the endowments

of the mind, or the qualities of the heart, they would lose nothing by a comparison. If few of their divines engaged in pursuits foreign to their profession, their writings in that line, sufficiently attest the superiority of their talents, and that they lost but little by their exclusion from the public Universities. To their learning and virtues, their attachment to rational liberty and to the British Constitution, and to their quiet and peaceable demeanour as citizens and members of society, Mr. Palmer has done full justice in the foregoing pamphlet, which may be regarded as an ample vindication of them from the aspersions of their enemies.

The severe reflections which Mr. Wesley had drawn upon himself in this publication, aroused him to a reply; but his own misfortunes, brought upon him, as he says, by the malice of his enemies, but rather by his own imprudence, delayed its appearance for two years, when it was published with the following title: "A Reply to Mr. Palmer's Vindication of the Learning, Loyalty, Morals, and most Christian Behaviour of the Dissenters towards the Church of England. By Samuel Wesley. London, 1707." 4to. pp. 160. The following motto was added from one of De Foe's Reviews: "How long must we see the reproaches of our Establishment, and the insult of the Laws, and be bound to silence, and to say nothing—for peace' sake? How long must their false prophets, and dreamers of dreams, abuse us, and we obliged to hold our peace." It is probable that De Foe was not at all obliged to the author for this accommodation of a sentiment, which he directed against the enemies of the nation's peace. This bitter controversy, which generated into personalities on both sides, did not proceed any farther. To the surprise of his friends, Mr. Palmer soon afterwards took orders in the Church of England, and had the living of Malden, in Essex. His conformity was ascribed by himself to the neglect of the Dissenters, which would have been the more to be regretted, if he had not afterwards grown lax in

his morals. He was author of a volume of "Moral Essays, founded upon English, Scotch, and Foreign Proverbs, 1710;" also, of several sermons and tracts, particularly, an able defence of the Revolution, in "A Letter to Dr. Lancaster, wherein the Resistance of the People, under the Conduct of the Prince of Orange, and the placing King William on the Throne, are vindicated from the odious imputations of Usurpation and Rebellion. With some Remarks on the Abdication of Charles I. and James II. Lond. 1697." 4to.

In many of the Tory publications at this period, allusion is made to a society that is supposed to have held meetings, for the purpose of commemorating the death of Charles I., in a manner somewhat different to the custom of the times, and the obligations of loyalty; and as it was made a ground of odium against Whigs and Dissenters, it may not be improper to take some notice of it in this work. The reader will easily perceive that we allude to the CALVES'-HEAD CLUB.

If such a society ever existed, which has been doubted by some, but is rendered probable by the frequent notice of it by the writers of the times, it must have been confined to few persons, and those not of the most reputable description. Although it was evidently a political club, and resorted to by persons of various religions, yet the fashion of the day being to run down the Dissenters, they were made to bear the odium of it. Scarcely a publication of any consequence issued from the high-church party, in which the changes were not rung in strains sufficiently doleful, upon this odious society; which they used as a masked battery, behind which, vollies of abuse were showered down upon the whole body of Dissenters. Although these, as a community, were no more responsible for the actions of the parties concerned, than their neighbours, of the Church; yet, their known opposition to the politics in vogue during this reign, afforded a

handle to the artifice, and whetted the resentment of those who were disposed to fall in with the cant of the times. Leslie, one of the foremost of their antagonists, very seriously invites the Dissenters "to put down their Calves'-Head Clubs, in which they feast every 30th of January, and have lewd songs which they profanely call anthems, new ones composed every year, in ridicule of the King's martyrdom, and in justification of those principles, and praise of those patriots by whom it was perpetrated! I have seen," says he, "some of these, their horrid anthems, brought from some of their Calves'-Head feasts, for they have many of them every year in London." * But what would this author have said, if he had been told that these same anthems were composed by a member of his own church! (s) In another publication, Leslie says, "I am told that last 30th of January, at one of the principal of their Calves'-Head feasts here in London, they used a sort of a symbolical ceremony of sticking their knives all at once into the biggest of the Calves'-Heads, thereby engaging themselves in a bond of unity for the restoration of *Puss*, that is, their commonwealth, and the extirpation of monarchy, especially in the line of the martyr, whom they thus represented." † By a system of logic peculiar to this writer, he says, that all who maintain the principles of the club, that is, the lawfulness of resisting tyrants agreeably to the practice of churchmen at the Revolution, are members of the club, whether they go to their feasts or not. "By this test," says he, "we shall find whether this Calves'-Head club consists only of a few profligate men, as represented, or of those in general who are represented under the name of Whigs." ‡ Here we have a discovery of the cloven foot.

* New Association, &c. Part i. p. 12. † Cassandra, Part i. 50.
‡ Ibid, p. 48.

(s) "Besides the litter of scribblers against the Revolution, and the immortal King William, even the Calves'-Head poet was of their own forming, and learned to sing to *Puss Boys* in Trinity College, Cambridge, at that execrable feast."—*Palmer's Vindication*, p. 40.

The patrons of divine right and its adjuncts, passive-obedience and non-resistance, are the only sound members of church and state; whilst the friends of the revolution-settlement which was established in opposition to those doctrines, are, by virtue of their principles, of the Calves'-Head Club, whether they own it or not! But enough of Mr. Leslie's logic.

This political manœuvre of Leslie, to affix odium upon Whigs and Dissenters, being adapted to the meridian of party, was hastily caught by other demagogues, who used it for stirring up the passions of the vulgar. Sacheverell, who was never behindhand in any dirty work of this kind, employs it in a similar way. He complains, that the feasts had been openly celebrated in all the populous and trading towns of the kingdom, especially since the Revolution; and imitating the logic of his predecessor, asks, "Whether this detestable practice is not a sad and sufficient proof of the present Dissenters retaining the rebellious principles of the last age, and whether they deserve not to be equally punished for the crimes of their predecessors?"* In aid of the dishonest plot carrying on by the Tories for the ruin of the Dissenters, it is lamentable to find that the publishers of so important a work as Lord Clarendon's History, should be at all implicated. Yet the writer of the dedication asks, "What can be the meaning of the constant solemnizing, by some men, the anniversary of that dismal thirtieth of January, in scandalous and opprobrious feasting and jesting, which the law of the land hath commanded to be perpetually observed in fasting and humiliation?" He intimates, "that it looks like an industrious propagation of the rebellious principles of the last age;" and recommends her majesty "to have an eye towards such unaccountable proceedings." The artful connection of this subject with the academies of

* Rights of the Church of Engl. p. 53, 4.

Dissenters, which are represented as hostile to monarchical and episcopal government, and contrary to law, fully unfolds the design of the writer. Oldmixon has a just remark upon the passage: "One would have hoped," says he, "that the vulgar scandal of the Calves'-Head Club might have been reserved for some half-penny history; and I was surprised to find it in a dedication to the Earl of Clarendon's: 'Tis a melancholy instance of the straits to which the dedicator's faction was reduced. I never heard of such a club since the Revolution, except once or twice, among a parcel of hair-brained enthusiasts. But I have seen a picture of King William, of glorious memory, intended to be burnt by Sacheverell's rabble, but seized before they had time to perpetrate the villany."* Swift satirized the leading Whigs of the time, in "Toland's Invitation to Dismal, (that is, the Earl of Nottingham,) to dine with the Calves'-Head Club."

Let us now hear what the Dissenters have to say upon the subject; for in an appeal to fact, the accused party is most likely to have the best information. Mr. John Shute, afterwards Lord Barrington, in a work dedicated to Queen Anne, and published in 1704, thus addresses her: "Your Majesty will easily acquit the Dissenters from charges of this nature, which as they are capable of the most satisfactory answers, so are they supported by no proof but that of a fact, which itself has no evidence of its truth; and which if it had, affects none but those single persons who shall be proved to be concerned in it: I mean the solemnizing of that dismal thirtieth of January, in scandalous and opprobrious feasting and jesting. A rite so barbarous and inhuman, as is the insulting the memory of a virtuous and unfortunate prince, that I would hope none that breathe the same air with your majesty can be guilty of it; but

* Clarendon and Whitlock compared. Introd. xxxiii.

which the Dissenters know nothing more of than their accusers. If any such solemnity should be practised in secret, the Dissenters hope the promoters of it will be discovered; and if it should appear that any of them are Dissenters, which is a suspicion altogether as groundless as they believe 'tis false, yet this could no more argue the body of the Dissenters guilty of retaining the rebellious principles of the last age, than it could be concluded that all churchmen were Jacobites, if it should be proved, that some of that body have, with the like barbarity, drank healths and paid honours to a couple of animals, for occasioning the death of one of the best of princes."*

The next testimony shall be that of Thomas Bradbury, a minister of considerable note amongst the Independents, and no less eminent for his patriotism. Endowed by nature with inimitable wit and courage, combined with the advantages of a liberal education, no man was better constituted to support the cause he had so zealously at heart. As an antidote to the chronical fury of the times, which always found vent upon the thirtieth of January, Bradbury annually commemorated the Revolution, by a sermon upon the fifth of November, which he also published. Some of these discourses are as remarkable for their shrewdness as for their adaptation to the occasion, and may be ranked amongst the most animated defences of civil and religious liberty. Being attacked by Mr. Luke Milbourne, "a clergyman of yearly fame," who, in one of his anniversary sermons, had said, "That London has a club of those God-mocking wretches, who profane this day with impious feasting," Mr. Bradbury remarks, "As I never was present at such an assembly, so it is but lately that I was well-assured any persons of note could be guilty of a thing so ludicrous: But I am satisfied, it has been done within these few years;

* Rights of Prot. Diss. Ded. xx. xxi.

though I can tell him (that excepting one) all the persons who met there, are such as our author and his party do now admire for staunch churchmen, and lovers of monarchy; and much joy may he have of a flying squadron, who can step so fast from profaning a day to adoring it. But if there is any thing of this kind, I know none so much to blame for it as those high-flying preachers, that give the irritation. From this sort of sermons, many, I should fear, would come with either anger or mirth enough for such a design. For, after they have attended on a parson, and find he has not the law of truth in his mouth, (either truth of argument or facts) but instead of that, iniquity fires in his lips, they go away to be at once revenged on his malice, and diverted with his nonsense."*

One more testimony will suffice, and it shall be that of De Foe. "'Tis below an Englishman and a gentleman," says he, "to insult any man that's down. To conquer a man and reduce him to misery, consists with a man of honour; but to insult him when reduced, is below a man as a rational, much more as a generous creature. For this reason, if there ever was any such thing as a calves'-head club, which I profess not to know, I abhor, not the practice only, but the temper that can stoop to a thing so base; and believe it to be as much below a generous spirit, as the hanging of Oliver Cromwell when he was dead."†

The foregoing extracts will be sufficient to show, that whatever may have been asserted to the contrary by their enemies, the Dissenters, as a religious community, are exonerated from any participation in the orgies of the 30th of January. In all societies of men, there will be individuals of various tastes and opinions; but it would be absurd to make whole communities responsible for the faults of a few. When we see tyrants canonized by authority as martyrs, or read the deci-

* Bradbury's Lawfulness of Resisting Tyrants, Pref. † Review, vi. 261.

sions of councils and convocations, we have a right to consider them as acts of the body they represent, and treat them accordingly; but not so, the acts of private persons. The politics of the Dissenters, which were charged upon them as a crime, they had no need to be ashamed of; but whatever was their complexion, they were the result of circumstances forced upon them by their oppressors. Had their situations been reversed, so, in all probability, would have been their politics; at any rate, we should have heard nothing from churchmen of those passive doctrines which they so freely volunteered from their throne of power. That the opinions of men receive a tone from their situation, is a maxim as much confirmed by experience, as it is true in philosophy; and the chances against their correctness, are in proportion to the extrinsic influence employed to support them. It has been justly observed by an elegant writer, that "Wherever man is free and happy, not oppressed by the iniquity of government, or solicitously struggling for the means of subsistence, he will always be found to exult in the full energies of his mind."*

To accommodate the taste of the times, the clubs were dragged from their obscurity, and exposed to the mirth or execration of the public, in a work of some curiosity that now made its appearance. The first edition was published as a quarto tract, in the early part of 1703, and bore the following title: "The Secret History of the Calves'-Head Club: or the Republicans Unmasked. Wherein is fully shewn The Religion of the Calves'-Head Heroes in their Anniversary Thanksgiving Songs on the 30th of January; by them called Anthems; for the years 1693, 1694, 1695, 1696, 1697. Now published to demonstrate the restless, implacable spirit of a certain party still among us, who are never to be satisfied till the present establishment in church and state is subverted.

* Symonds's Life of Milton, p. 160, *n*.

London: Printed and Sold by the Booksellers, 1703." 4to. Such was the popularity of this work, that it came to a second edition in the same year; and within the space of a few years, it passed through several impressions with considerable additions, and some variations in the title. (T) The matter of which it is composed, consists of improbable stories, dull poetry, and the common cant of the times. This is dealt out in very coarse language, with occasional digressions of low wit to relieve its general dullness. The best edition is the eighth, published in octavo, in 1713, under the title of "The Whigs Unmasked," with eight satirical engravings, illustrating the leading subjects of the work, and highly characteristic of the spirit of the times. Six of them had been published three years before, in "The British Hudibras," a satirical poem by Ned Ward, who, in all probability, manufactured the History of the Calves'-Head Club. This writer, who is most known as the author of "The

(T) The earlier editions were in quarto; those after the second or third in octavo. The *Seventh*, published in 1709, bears the following title: "The Secret History of the Calves'-Head Club; or the Republicans Unmasked. With a large continuation, and an Appendix to the History. Wherein is fully shewn, the Religion of the Calves' Head Heroes, in their Anniversary Thanksgiving Songs on the 30th of January, by them called Anthems, with reflections thereupon. The seventh edition, with large improvements; and a description of the Calves'-Head Club, and the effigies of Oliver Cromwell and his cabinet council, curiously engraved on copper-plates. To which is annexed, A Vindication of the Royal Martyr, King Charles I. Wherein are laid open, the Republican's Mysteries of Rebellion. Written in the time of the Usurpation, by the celebrated Mr. Butler, author of Hudibras. With a character of a Presbyterian, written by Sir John Denham, Knt.; and the character of a Modern Whig, or the Republican in Fashion. London; Printed and Sold by B. Bragge, at the Raven in Paternoster Row, 1709. 8vo. The work with this comprehensive title was dedicated "To the worshipful John Tutchin Esq.; Observator and Censor Morum General; Supervisor of the Admiralty, Victualling Office, Play-House, Bartholomew-Fair, Bear Garden, Defender of Parliaments, and Protestant March Beer." Tutchin was now dead; but the dedication stood as in some former editions. It was left out in the next.

London Spy," kept a public house in the skirts of the city; and having a degree of low humour, with a taste for doggrel rhyme, he devoted his powers to the service of the high-party, whereby he drew together many persons of similar taste and character, who were entertained by his wit and enlivened by his ale.

Of the origin and proceedings of the Calves'-Head Club, the writer of its history gives the following account, which, it appears, he had only from hearsay. He says, "That Milton, and some other creatures of the commonwealth, had instituted this club, in opposition to Bishop Juxon, Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Hammond, and other divines of the Church of England, who met privately every 30th of January; and, though it was in the time of the usurpation, had compiled a private form of service for the day, not much different from that now to be found in the liturgy. After the Restoration, the eyes of the government being upon the whole party, they were obliged to meet with a great deal of precaution; but in the reign of King William, they met almost in a public manner, apprehending no danger." The writer farther tells us, he was informed, that it was kept in no fixed house, but that they removed as they thought convenient. The place where they met when his informant was with them, "Was in a blind alley near Moorfields, where an axe hung up in the club room, and was reverenced as a principal symbol in this diabolical sacrament. Their bill of fare, was a large dish of calves-heads, dressed several ways, by which they represented the king and his friends who had suffered in his cause; a large pike, with a small one in his mouth, as an emblem of tyranny; a large cod's head, by which they pretended to represent the person of the king singly; a boar's-head, with an apple in its mouth, to represent the king, by this, as bestial, as by their other hieroglyphics they had done foolish and tyrannical. After the repast was over, one of their elders presented an *Icon Basilike*, which was with

great solemnity burnt upon the table, whilst the anthems were singing. After this, another produced Milton's *Defensio Populi Anglicani*, upon which all laid their hands, and made a protestation in form of an oath, for ever to stand by and maintain the same. The company only consisted of Independents and Anabaptists, and the famous Jeremy White, formerly chaplain to Oliver Cromwell, who no doubt came to sanctify with his pious exhortations the ribaldry of the day, said grace. After the table cloth was removed, the anniversary anthem, as they impiously called it, was sung, and a calf's skull filled with wine, or other liquor; and then a brimmer went about to the pious memory of those worthy patriots who had killed the tyrant, and relieved their country from his arbitrary sway; and lastly, a collection was made for the mercenary scribbler, to which every man contributed according to his zeal for the cause, and ability of his purse."(u)

Although no great reliance is to be placed upon the faithfulness of Ward's narrative, yet, in the frightful mind of a high-flying churchman, which was continually haunted by such scenes, the caricature would easily pass for a likeness. It is probable, that the persons thus collected together to commemorate the triumph of their principles, although in a manner dictated by bad taste, and outrageous to humanity, would have confined themselves to the ordinary methods of eating and drinking, if it had not been for the ridiculous farce so generally acted by the royalists upon the same day. The trash that issued from the pulpit in this reign, upon the 30th of January, was such as to excite the worst passions

(u) Of the "mercenary scribbler," above alluded to, Dunton gives the following account: "Mr. Benjamin Bridgwater. He was of Trinity College in Cambridge, and M.A. His genius was very rich, and ran much upon poetry, in which he excelled. He was in part author of *Religio Bibliopolæ*. But, alas! in the issue, wine and love were the ruin of this ingenious gentleman."—*Life and Errors*, p. 236.

in the hearers. Nothing can exceed the grossness of language employed upon these occasions. Forgetful even of common decorum, the speakers ransacked the vocabulary of the vulgar for terms of vituperation, and hurled their *anathemas* with wrath and fury against the objects of their hatred. The terms rebel and fanatic, were so often upon their lips, that they became the reproach of honest men, who preferred the scandal to the slavery they attempted to establish. Those who could profane the pulpit with so much rancour, in the support of senseless theories, and deal it out to the people for religion, had little reason to complain of a few absurd men who mixed politics and calves'-head at a tavern; and still less, to brand a whole religious community with their actions.

Lord Clarendon's work having been alluded to in a foregoing page, it may be proper to observe, that for prudential reasons it was not judged proper to lay it before the public, until after the accession of Queen Anne, when it was published under the auspices of the author's sons, the Earls of Clarendon and Rochester. The notions which then prevailed at Court upon the subject of government, and the assistance they received from the parliament and the clergy, conspired to render this a seasonable time for the appearance of a work, that was expected to give them credit with the nation. The first portion of it was published in 1702, with a preface containing some account of the author, and the occasion of his writing, with some strictures upon the state of parties, and the administration of public affairs. In the following year appeared the second part; and the third in 1704, forming three volumes in folio. To each of these portions of the work, there was a dedication to the Queen, in which the writer threw out many injurious reflections upon the Dissenters, representing their seminaries of learning as so many nurseries of sedition, and charging them with the celebration of the 30th of January, by scandalous and opprobious

feasting. In order to stir up the resentment of the queen, he tells her, that this looks like an industrious propagation of the rebellious principles of the last age, and rendered it necessary to have a watchful eye upon their proceedings. Such sentiments advanced in a work that appeared under the most imposing auspices, and was to be of standing reference to the times of which it treated, could not but give currency to the charges, and assist the delusions that were supposed to be so acceptable at court. It is no wonder, therefore, that they were repeated by other writers, and repelled by the Dissenters with the indignation which they merited.

It appears from a passage in one of De Foe's "Reviews," that he was preparing a work in reference to Clarendon's History; but there is no trace of its having been ever published, nor is it possible now to give any precise account of the object of the writer. Having been charged with raking into the ashes of the Stuarts, "Only for faults to dress up a trophy," he replies with equal judgment and shrewdness, that if the justice of the censure were to be admitted, "First—Here is my Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion blasted at once, than which we know no greater satyr ever was written upon the life, conduct, and reign of King Charles I., and had it not been published by the famous University of Oxford, I should have concluded it had been designed for a real banter of him. But, as the author of this is preparing some remarks of that kind for public use, it is deferred here. Secondly—Here is a darling subject lost, which some gentlemen are so fond of, for the peculiar use of the 30th of January, that they can never part with it, viz.: raking into the sins of our fathers. For, by the same rule that we should not dress trophies on one hand, we should not rake into ashes and errors on the other. Thirdly—Here are the mouths of all those learned gentlemen stopped at once, who cannot digest their dinner without railing at the memory of King William. And though we think his life will bear a

scrutiny better than any prince that ever sat on the English throne before him; yet, if we come to the nicety, one king's life ought to be no more canvassed and raked into than another."* In another place, he considers Clarendon's work to entail so much reproach upon the memory of the former prince, that, says he, "I need add nothing to that illustrious author, only humbly recommend to the University of Oxford, the honest editors of that work, that they would consider of restoring the book to its juster title, viz.: *King Charles I. proved a tyrant; by Edward Earl of Clarendon.*"†

* Review i. Supp. iv. p. 4. † Ibid, vi. 132.

CHAPTER VII.

Controversy upon Occasional Conformity continued.—Mr. James Owen publishes "Moderation, a virtue."—Replied to by De Foe, in "The Sincerity of the Dissenters Vindicated."—Also, in "Occasional Conformity a most Unjustifiable Practice."—And, in "Moderation truly stated."—Mr. Owen publishes a Defence of his Work.—Which is replied to by Mr. Grascome.—Merits of De Foe as a Controversialist.—The Occasional Bill revived in Parliament.—The Ministers grow lukewarm upon it.—De Foe publishes his Challenge of Peace to the whole nation.—The Bill passes the Commons.—Thrown out by the Lords.—Mortification of the Tories.—Displeasure at the Bishops.—Anecdote of Bishop Patrick.—Burnet's zeal for Religious Liberty.—Hoadly defends the Conduct of the Bishops.—Sir Godfrey Copley's Eulogy upon the Church.—Swift's humorous Account of the Effect produced by the Debates.—Sir Humphrey Mackworth defends the cause of the Exclusionists, in his "Peace at Home."—Remarks upon his Work.—De Foe replies to him in his "Peace without Union." Account of his argument.—Mr. Shute publishes The Rights of Protestant Dissenters, in Answer to Mackworth.—Replies to him.—Sacheverell's Rights of the Church of England.—Its bitter character.—Davenant publishes his "Essays upon Peace at Home."—He is satirized by the Tories for his Apostacy.—His Character and merits as a Writer.—His Chapter on the Danger of Appeals to the People objected to by De Foe.—Who replies to him in Original Right.—Abstract of his Argument.

1703—1704.

THE subject that now engrossed the attention of divines and politicians, nearly to the exclusion of all others, was that of Occasional Conformity. It has been seen that the Dissenters were themselves divided upon the subject; and Mr. Howe had declined the controversy. To support the cause which he had deserted, Mr. James Owen, a learned Dissenting

minister at Shrewsbury, defended the occasional communicants, in a pamphlet intitled, "Moderation, a virtue; or the Occasional Conformist justified from the imputation of Hypocrisy. Wherein is shewn, The Antiquity, Catholic Principles, and Advantage of Occasional Conformity to the Church of England; and that Dissenters from the Religion of the State, have been employed in most Governments; under the several heads following. I. That Occasional Conformity is no new thing, but is warranted in some cases by the most sacred and incontestable Precedents. II. That the principles of the Occasional Conformists are truly Christian and Catholic. III. That the difference between the Church and Moderate Dissenters is inconsiderable. IV. That the employing of sober Dissenters in public trusts, is so far from being prejudicial to the Church of England, that it really strengthens it. V. That Occasional Conformity is an advantage to the Church, and weakens the Dissenters. VI. That the late Bill against Occasional Conformity, would have been highly prejudicial to the Church of England. VII. That the Dissenters from the religion of the state, have been employed by most governments. Lond. 1703." 4to.

Mr. Owen's pamphlet was dictated more by good feeling than solid argument. Much of his reasoning would have come better from a moderate churchman than from a Dissenter, and could have been pleasing only to that portion of the Presbyterians, who had been long labouring after a comprehension with the Establishment. He was therefore attacked by two parties, who assailed him upon different grounds, and with a widely different spirit.

De Foe replied to him in "The Sincerity of the Dissenters vindicated from the Scandal of Occasional Conformity. With some Considerations on a late Book, intitled, 'Moderation, a Virtue.' London: printed in the year 1703." 4to. pp. 27. After paying a proper compliment to Mr. Owen, as a man of candour and honesty, our author considers him as

virtually giving up the argument by the following concession: "That to conform to the Church of England, and receive the Sacrament, merely to qualify for a civil employment, is a scandalous practice, a reproach to religion, and offensive to all good Christians." De Foe compares the defenders of Occasional Communion, to a resolute garrison, who, when beaten out of a town, retire to the castle, taking refuge now in a general charity, and the lawfulness of the thing in its own nature; but from these strong holds he undertakes to drive them in the present performance.

De Foe goes over the argument with a great deal of precision, shrewdness, and good temper. To a comprehensive knowledge of the subject, he brings a vigorous judgment, and displays much skill, in turning the arguments of his adversary. His language is clear and perspicuous, his reasoning acute; and he writes like a man thoroughly versed in the scriptures, and guided in his religious concerns, solely by a principle of conscience. In short, this is a very masterly pamphlet, and the best that he wrote in the controversy. Although the discussion would afford but little interest, now that the subject is set at rest, yet the following sentiment deserves transcribing, as affording evidence of the author's foresight: "I doubt not but this Occasional Conformity of the Dissenters in this age, is a prologue to a total conformity in the next, and will lead our posterity to quit that dissenting wholly, which they saw their fathers would quit as they found occasion."

Mr. Owen's work gave rise to several publications from writers of the high party, who treated him with less courtesy than De Foe. It found a bitter reply in "Occasional Conformity a most unjustifiable Practice. In Answer to a late Pamphlet, intitled, 'Moderation, a Virtue.' With a Short Vindication of the Church of England from the Author's groundless Reasons for Separation. And a Postscript in Answer to the Eleventh Section of Dr. Davenant's

Essays of 'Peace at Home, and War Abroad.' Lond. 1704." 4to. The Author was Samuel Grascome, a learned writer amongst the Non-jurors, and of a kindred spirit with Leslie. Mr. Owen had a female antagonist in Mrs. Mary Astell, who published a bulky pamphlet, called "Moderation truly stated: or, a Review of a late Pamphlet, intitled, 'Moderation, a Virtue.' With a Prefatory Discourse to Dr. Davenant, concerning his late Essays on Peace and War. Lond. 1704." 4to. In the eighty-third page of her work, she glances slightly at De Foe's "New Test of the Church of England's Loyalty;" and speaks of him as "an Author of their own, who lets no spiteful observation escape him." Of Davenant's work, animadverted upon by these writers, some notice will be taken hereafter.

In defence of his former treatise, Mr. Owen published "Moderation still a Virtue: In Answer to several bitter Pamphlets, especially two, intitled, 'Occasional Conformity a most unjustifiable Practice;' and 'The Wolf Stripped of his Shepherd's Clothing;' which contain the substance of the rest. Wherein the Precedents and Christian Principles of conscientious Occasional Conformity are defended: The Government of the Reformed Churches that have no Bishops, Ordination by Presbyters, and the Dissenters' separate Communions, are justified: With a Short Vindication of the Dissenting Academies against Mr. Sacheverell's Misrepresentation of them. By the Author of 'Moderation, a Virtue.' Lond. 1704." 4to. In this work, he replies to the arguments of his various antagonists, with much modesty and good temper. He disclaims any surprise at their zeal against Occasional Conformity, since they made such a breach in their charity as to exclude the Dissenters from the common privileges of Christianity; and, alluding to Leslie, he considers it odd that so violent a storm should be raised by one who was not a member either of church or state. Of "The Wolf Stripped," which was the work of this writer, and

received a direct answer from De Foe, some account will be given hereafter. Mr. Owen's last work met with an intemperate reply, in "The Mask of Moderation pulled off the foul Face of Occasional Conformity: Being an Answer to a late poisonous Pamphlet, intitled, 'Moderation still a Virtue:' Wherein the late Reasoning, and Shuffling Arguments of that Author, are plainly laid open and confuted. Lond. 1704." 4to. This also came from the pen of Mr. Grascome, before mentioned, of whom some account may be seen in the life of Kettlewell. Towards the conclusion of his pamphlet, he bestows some remarks upon De Foe's "New Test of the Church of England's Honesty," but treats him with deference as a writer.

A controversy that was deemed of so much importance, both by divines and statesmen, could not fail to elicit many publications by the contending parties. The high-churchmen, who were for crushing the Dissenters, that they might establish a monopoly for themselves, poured forth the most bitter invectives; treating them as an inferior race of beings, unworthy of any political rights, and fit only to be the vassals of a lordly hierarchy. The extravagant pretensions of these men would lead us to suspect their sanity, if the same had not been previously asserted by their rivals at Rome; but if this saves their intellects, it does not lessen the contempt excited by their arrogance. Perhaps there were few writers at the time whose peculiar cast of mind, united to a comprehensive acquaintance with ecclesiastical subjects, fitted them to cope so successfully with this arrogant race, as De Foe. With an acuteness that enabled him to detect their sophistry, he assaulted their strong holds with invincible courage, and destroyed the spell that had so long captivated the ignorant. To the specious claims of authority, derived from absurd institutions, and built upon the ruins of social rights, he opposed the formidable artillery of reason and ridicule; at one time refuting their errors; at another,

laughing at their follies. With exemplary perseverance, amidst threats of personal violence, and under the oppression of power, he followed up his opponents, out-talked their pertinacity, and triumphed in their defeat. Of so able a champion, the party with which he identified himself had ample reason to boast; and it is not to their credit that they requited his services with so much indifference and neglect.

The debate which the subject had undergone from the press, fully prepared the public mind for the renewal of it in parliament. The house met November the 9th, 1703, and the Queen in her speech earnestly desired them to cultivate peace and union, and to avoid heats and divisions which would give encouragement to the common enemies of church and state. The Commons promised obedience; but the Lords engaged not only to avoid, but to oppose whatever might tend to create contention amongst her subjects. It was evident that some movement had taken place in the nation which rendered it prudent in the Court to pause in its proceedings, and to assume a more pacific tone towards the Dissenters; but it was not until the following year that it was found necessary to put on a decided character.

The pacific tendency of the Queen's speech, presented to De Foe an opportunity for enforcing it, that was not to be resisted. He therefore seized the occasion for immediately publishing "A Challenge of Peace, addressed to the whole nation. With an Enquiry into Ways and Means of bringing it to pass. London: printed in the year 1703." 4to. pp. 24. In a dedication of four pages to the Queen, he tells her, that, as what she says upon such occasions has a considerable influence upon the nation, so nothing that ever passed from her lips sounded so grateful in the ears of her Protestant subjects, as her invitation to peace and union: it only remained, therefore, for them to fulfil her royal

intentions; and by their conduct in this particular, she would have an opportunity of judging who were her best and most loyal subjects. In courteous language, and with great ingenuity, he endeavours to persuade the Queen, of her own inclinations, to moderate measures; and he throws all the odium of intolerance upon the shoulders of others. "Those unhappy people," says he, "who, either from the severity of their principles, or really for want of principles, are otherwise inclined; that are for suppressing their Protestant brethren for opinions in religion; or for oppressing their neighbours for the interest of parties, may now be satisfied, that while they pursue that unchristian and impolitic method, they not only weaken but disoblige your majesty, and your real interest." It would have been well for the nation if the queen's mind had been in harmony with her speech: but her published correspondence renders it quite manifest that she was rather the slave of a heartless policy.

In describing the best means for the union of parties, De Foe first views the subject negatively. "It is not holding out Sacheverell's bloody flag of defiance," says he, "nor repealing or abridging the Act of Toleration; nor divesting men of their political rights for their religious opinions; nor railing pamphlets and sermons, exciting people to hatred and contempt of their brethren; nor reproaching the succession and reviving the pretensions of an excluded family; nor enacting laws against Occasional Conformity, and at the same time compelling persons to bear offices in which a conformity is required: these cannot contribute to peace and union. In order to accomplish the desired end, there must be a general disposition in the nation to cultivate a peaceable temper; to bear and forbear with each other for differences of opinion, without disturbing the harmony of civil and social life." He intimates, that all the contention and strife lie at the door of those who call them-

selves high-churchmen, who will be satisfied with nothing short of riding upon the necks of all the moderate people in the nation. "These are the men," says he, "that carry their arguments to the extreme of reproach, and the indecency of contempt; that print, preach, and cry up all modern discontents; that strive to blacken their brethren with marks of distinction; that stigmatize the men of moderation with the brand of low-churchmen, and represent them as enemies to the church and to their own principles; that are for confounding and not converting the Dissenters, being neither willing to let us dissent nor conform."

Our author properly remarks, that to reconcile the opinions of her subjects, is none of her majesty's province as queen; all having an equal title to her protection, so long as they behave themselves dutifully to her person and government. "Experience might convince the sons of violence, who are for persecuting their neighbours, that it has been a fruitless war; and if we were to examine how many converts to the church have been made by such measures, I doubt they can give but a slender account of the fruit of that method whereof the whole church is now ashamed." Religion, he observes, should be a matter of serious choice, not of violence; we may differ without quarrelling, or using terms of censure and reproach. "A little charity sown in good land, would produce a large crop of peace; but even grace itself, planted in a soil barren of charity, sours and grows morose." Religion, as he justly intimates, was never intended to make an inroad upon good manners, nor a breach in civil society: men may be gentlemen, as well as Christians.

That the cultivation of peace and charity, was not to be expected from the present parliament, its early proceedings afforded ample evidence; for many days had not elapsed, before the bill for preventing Occasional Conformity, was

revived in the Commons. It was in substance the same as before; but the preamble against persecution for conscience sake, was left out, as not corresponding with the body of the bill; and there were a few other alterations, to make it palateable to the Peers. After some violent and absurd speeches, particularly one by Sir John Packington, who made himself ridiculous by its publication, the bill passed the Commons the seventh of December, and was forwarded to the Lords. There it met with a cold reception, being secretly thwarted by the influence of the government, although the leading ministers affected to support it; so that it was rejected upon the second reading.

As the rejection of the bill was considered by the high party to be the effect of unfair management, they observed but little decency in the expression of their feelings. "The clergy over England, who were generally inflamed with this matter," says Burnet, "could hardly forgive the queen, and the prince, the coldness they expressed on this occasion. The Lord Godolphin did so positively declare, that he thought the bill unseasonable, and that he had done all he could to hinder its being brought in, that though he voted to give the bill a second reading, that did not reconcile the party to him: they set up the Earl of Rochester, as the only man to be depended on, who deserved to be the chief minister."* Mortified by their defeat, the Tories made another attempt to pass their favourite measure, by tacking it to a bill of supply; but they were not strong enough to carry it. The expressions of joy that were manifested in the city upon their discomfiture, afforded them, probably, as little satisfaction as the waywardness of the Court, for it indicated in language sufficiently intelligible, that the public opinion was against them.

The displeasure of the high-flyers at the loss of their

* Burnet's Own Time, iv. 32.

favourite measure, was greatly aggravated by the conduct of the bishops, of whom the majority, with the primate at their head, divided against the bill. For this they were stigmatised as betrayers of the Church; but wise men gave them the credit of prudence and good feeling, and a desire rather to rescue the church from the opprobrium of intolerance. It was upon this occasion that bishop Patrick, the celebrated commentator, made the following liberal concession, which reflects equal honour upon his candour and good sense. He observed, "That he had been known to write against the Dissenters with some warmth in his younger years, but that he had lived long enough to see reason to alter his opinion of that people, and that way of writing; and that he was verily persuaded there were some who were honest men and good Christians, who would be neither if they did not sometimes go to church, and sometimes to the meeting." *

Of all the bishops, Burnet, who pleaded the cause of liberty with the greatest zeal and eloquence, was doomed to the largest share of opprobrium: but the censure of bigots is solid praise. In his own vindication, he thought it necessary to print his speech, that the public might form an estimate of the reasons that influenced himself and his brethren. This brought upon him a host of enemies, who answered his arguments by personal abuse. Leslie, the Non-juror, who never hung back in the cause of intolerance, published upon this occasion, "The Bishop of Salisbury's Proper Defence, from a speech cried about the streets in his name, and said to have been spoken by him in the House of Lords, upon the Bill against Occasional Conformity. Lond. 1704." Burnet had been so used to libels for his moderation, that he did not think fit to reply to those which were now issued against him. In the following passage he

* Harris's Life of Manton, p. 33.

breathes those generous sentiments that form his best vindication: "I was desired to print what I said upon that occasion, which drew many virulent pamphlets upon me; but I answered none of them. I saw the Jacobites designed to raise such a flame among us, as might make it scarce possible to carry on the war. Those who went not so deep, yet designed to make a breach in the toleration, by gaining this point, and I resolved never to be silent when that should be brought into debate; for I have long looked on liberty of conscience as one of the rights of human nature, antecedent to society, which no man could give up, because it was not in his own power: and our Saviour's rule of doing as we would be done by, seemed to be a very express decision to all men, who would lay the matter home to their own consciences, and judge as they would willingly be judged by others." *

In justification of the bishops, Mr. Hoadly, then a young clergyman, who had but lately commenced his career as a writer, published "A Letter from a Clergyman in the country, concerning the Votes of the Bishops upon the Bill against Occasional Conformity. Lond. 1703." His object was to shew, that in opposing the bill, their Lordships had acted neither against the interest of Episcopacy, nor of the Established Church, to whose interests it would have been pernicious; that to commence a reign with a measure that would alarm and discompose the minds of the people, was highly improper; and that it was particularly unsuitable at the present moment, when it was the duty of all to unite in support of the Protestant interest. When he reprinted the tract some years afterwards, he informs us, that it was written at a time when the name of the church was made use of, as he thought, to the great disadvantage of the church itself, as well as of the most valuable and important parts

* Burnet's Own Time, iv. 32.

of all religion. To censure the bishops because they could not think as others of their brethren, he considered to be unchristian treatment; and he could not enter into the designs of those who were for applying civil encouragements or discouragements to the consciences of men in matters of religion. Hoadly's notions of a church were too refined to be generally acceptable to the clergy: he was therefore classed with those who were supposed to be conspiring her downfal; and in the course of this reign met with some sharp rebukes for not chiming in with the jargon of the day. During the debates upon this bill, it was repeatedly urged by the champions for the measure, "That all the churches in the universe are nothing to this of ours;" which occasioned Sir Godfrey Copley, a man of wit, to observe, "every one admires his own church, and we are fond of ours. For my part, I admire it chiefly for this reason, that it is fit for the people, subject to the laws, and most suitable to the clergy. For here, without care, without thought, and without trouble, honour and ease are enjoyed at once, which is a state that most men wish for."*

Of the fermentation which existed in the public mind, in relation to this affair, Swift has given a curious account in one of his letters to Stella, dated December 16, 1703: "I wish you had been here for ten days, during the highest and warmest reign of party and faction that I ever knew or read of, upon the bill against Occasional Conformity, which, two days ago, was, upon the first reading, rejected by the Lords. It was so universal, that I observed the dogs in the streets much more contumelious and quarrelsome than usual; and the very night before the bill went up, a committee of Whig and Tory cats had a very warm and loud debate upon the roof of our house. But why should we wonder at that, when the very ladies are split asunder into high church and low,

* Cunningham, i. 315.

and out of zeal for religion, have hardly time to say their prayers? The masks will have a crown more from any man of the other party, and count it a high point of merit to a member, who will not vote on their side. For the rest, the whole body of the clergy, with a great majority of the House of Commons, were violent for this bill. As great a majority of the Lords, amongst whom all the bishops but four were against it: the Court and the rabble, as extremes often agree, were trimmers." Swift was for some time doubtful what part to take in this affair. Having at length decided against the bill, he put his thoughts upon paper; but suppressed them as being too late to answer any purpose. As he had always a great contempt for the Dissenters, and wrote against them with a coarseness and impiety that disgraced the garb of a clergyman, his appearing against the bill, can be resolved into no other motive than policy.

The cause of the high party in the House of Commons, met with a zealous advocate at this time, in Sir Humphrey Mackworth, who attacked the civil rights of the Dissenters, in a laboured work, intitled, "Peace at Home: or, a Vindication of the Proceedings of the Honourable the House of Commons, on the Bill for Preventing Occasional Conformity; Shewing the Reasonableness and even Necessity of such a Bill, for the better security of the Established Government, for Preserving the Public Peace both in Church and State, and for quieting the Minds of her Majesty's Subjects. By Sir Humphrey Mackworth, a Member of the Honourable House of Commons. Lond. 1703." folio. This was rather an odd title for a work, whose object was to impoverish a part of the community, in order to enrich the remainder. Its obvious tendency was to create disunion and discord; for no man in his senses can look for peace and good-will from one whom he has robbed and plundered, until he has made restitution.

In a long dedication to the queen, he professes an entire

concurrence in the sentiments of her speech to the Parliament: "That she will always make it her particular care to encourage and maintain the church as by law established; and that she will also maintain the Act of Toleration for the ease of Dissenters. The one," adds he, "shall have your favour, the other your protection:" and both are to be happily secured, "when the Church shall have no power or provocation to promote a prosecution of Dissenters; nor any Dissenters be permitted to evade the laws, and to get into offices and employments in counties and corporations, whereby they may be enabled at one time or other to destroy the Church: they will then," he says, "have no ground of quarrel left on either side, but must necessarily find it their mutual interest to live together in peace and unity!" This might be good logic for the gaining side. So, a lawless banditti, when entering a village for the purpose of plunder, will preach peace and safety to the inhabitants, so long as they allow them quietly to take their goods; but, if Sir Humphrey's church had been on the losing side, he would have taught a doctrine more consonant to reason and justice. The end of his treatise, he observes, "Is to endeavour to answer the objections against the Bill, and to open the nature of it a little more at large to the world, especially to those who have the misfortune to dissent from the national church, that they may not only be freed from fears and jealousies on that occasion, but may also be convinced of the usefulness, and even necessity of such a Bill, for their own and the public good." Here the writer had undertaken a hopeless task; for it is difficult to convince those you are injuring, that you do it for their benefit. But the high-churchmen of this age supported their craft by adding insult to injury. This was the most important work issued by the high party, and in a short time passed through five editions. Sir Humphrey writes with temper, and affects liberality; but his philosophy does not hang well together.

A pamphlet so well calculated to make an impression upon the public, was not likely to pass unanswered. It was accordingly animadverted upon by several writers, and amongst others by De Foe, in his "Peace without Union. By way of Reply to Sir H—— M——'s 'Peace at Home.' London: Printed in the year 1703." 4to.

De Foe begins by saying, "I cannot without some astonishment observe, that a gentleman of such extraordinary reading, master of so much more than ordinary knowledge, so much an orator, and so much a statesman as this author, should begin a discourse of so much consequence as this, with a positive assertion, for which there can be no manner of foundation in history. At least the general practice of all nations, both ancient and modern, ever since there has been diversity of religions in the world, stands directly contrary to what this gentleman has advanced." De Foe here alludes to his maxim, "That all wise nations have thought it necessary to preserve the administration of public affairs in the hands of persons of one and the same persuasion in matters of religion;" and adds, "No wonder, if from premises so ill-grounded, wrong conclusions are drawn. But if upon examination it shall appear, that the maxim which stands as the argument and frontispiece of the whole work be ill-grounded: if it shall appear that in several nations, and those some of the wisest in the world, the administration of their public affairs has been frequently committed to the general care of all sorts of subjects; and able ministers of those nations have been employed without respect to their opinions in religion; and that some princes have equally trusted and employed people of different opinions in religion, in the most secret and critical parts of government. If these things appear, the foundation of this fine-spun trick of state must fall to the ground, and an answer to this one paragraph may very well pass for a full reply to the book; since, if the doctrine be overthrown, the uses and applica-

tion fall of course, as naturally as a house will follow when the foundation is undermined."

To prove his point, De Foe briefly glances at the practice of other nations, descending to Louis the Fourteenth of France, who began to turn Protestants out of his employment, as a step to their extirpation; and if there is a like design against the Dissenters in England, he says, "the very best step they can take to it, is the removing them from all the privileges and advantages of their native country. Nor is this the least reason," adds he, "to make us believe that is in the design; for to what purpose else should this gentleman bring so scandalous an example on the stage? If this learned gentleman can think to convince us, that thus to humble the Dissenters by a law, and to offer them the restraint he proposes, is the way to Peace at Home, he cannot at the same time but suppose that the Dissenters are a very blind, ignorant people."

In passing to this author's second assertion, "That wherever a national church hath been established by Acts of Uniformity, as in this kingdom, the wise legislators have generally established some test," &c. De Foe observes, "It is very hard a gentleman of this author's quality and learning, should have the misfortune to lay down but two fundamentals as the platform of his whole discourse, and be mistaken in both; sure he could not imagine that things so remote from the knowledge of any historian, could do any thing else than cause us to look back into history, to find the time when these tests and other securities were established. If it was expected that these things should be taken upon trust, as merchants pay bills for the honour of the drawer, I am sorry that gentleman could forget that these ages of faith are at an end, and the people are not so willing to believe one another as they used to be. And, since there are so many among us who are willing to impose upon the credulity of others, people are grown more incredulous,

and no man of honesty now thinks it below him to lay down proofs of what he says, nor takes it unkindly that he is not believed upon his parole." He adds, "I am fully persuaded, he can shew us no national church in the world, established by acts of Uniformity as in England; nor no test, or exclusive conditions, where a religion is tolerated in a nation, but the professors of it excluded from all trust or employment in the country."

In exposing the folly of the exclusionary system, De Foe refers his author to the reign of Henry VIII. and the promulgation of the six articles, which were defended by the Bishop of Winchester, with the same reasons that were urged for the present bill. It is said, "He besought the king for his own safe-guard, and the safety, quiet, and tranquillity of the kingdom, to be careful, sharp, and severe against the sectaries and sacramentarians." I would only desire this gentleman, adds De Foe, "to reflect a little who these sectaries were? Truly no other than our dear loyal church, who are just treating some people with the very same terms and names of distinction, which they in contempt were treated with by their enemies the Papists. All the use I shall make of it is, to tell them, it is not a very honourable way of proceeding, to cry out of the hardship of that usage when imposed upon them, and make apologies for the moderation of it, when they want to impose it upon others."

To the fourth edition of his pamphlet, printed in 1704, De Foe added a preface, with his name at length. He says, that upon a review of the work, and comparing it with what had been since objected, he could see nothing needful to be altered, nor much to be added. "Truth is the mistress every wise man courts; and who has obtained the most of her favours in this argument," says he, "I freely appeal to Sir H. M. to decide; knowing that the same candour which obliged him to an alteration in his dedication, will always oblige him to give a due deference to unanswerable truth."

There were some writers from whom Sir Humphrey met with less courteous treatment, for he complains that his work had been buffeted by the furies of the party, and had stood a deluge of ill-language, and a tempest of words. But whatever intemperance he may have met with, he had to contend with the more formidable artillery of argument, which was supplied to him by other writers besides De Foe, of whose work, whether we refer to its powers of reasoning, its candour, or its propriety of language, it is impossible to speak too highly.

Sir Humphrey met with another antagonist in Mr. John Shute, afterwards Lord Barrington, who maintained the cause of religious liberty with great force of argument, in a work intitled, "The Rights of Protestant Dissenters. In Two Parts. The First being the Case of the Dissenters Reviewed; The Second, A Vindication of their Right to an Absolute Toleration; from the Objections of Sir Humphrey Mackworth, in his Treatise intitled 'Peace at Home.' Lond. 1704." 4to. In a long and manly dedication to the queen, he entreats her not to form her opinion of the Dissenters from the misrepresentations of their adversaries, who were industrious in propagating charges to their disparagement. In the body of the work, he takes a summary view of what the Dissenters had advanced in their own defence, and answers the exceptions of their antagonists. He also vindicates them from the charge of schism, and from the unnecessary fears of bigots, who had so pompously set forth the danger of the church, and aggravated their conduct, in order to justify their shutting them out from public employments. In explaining the motives of the Occasional Conformists, he defends them from the charge of duplicity, and advances many ingenious reasons to show, that whilst the practice did not involve any compromise of principle, it served to keep up that good fellowship amongst Christians, which connected them by a stronger tie than any compulsive con-

formity to external rites and ceremonies. With a force of reasoning not to be resisted, he asserts the rights of all peaceable subjects to an absolute and impartial toleration, which cannot be perfect so long as the brand of civil incapacity shall be allowed to rest upon them. In asserting their rights as Englishmen, the Dissenters had been often taunted by their adversaries with ambition, "as if they had no hopes of going to a better world without a public employment;" which he considers no better than an insult. But if the Dissenters be of this opinion, he justly observes, "they would have very good reason to think Sir H. and his party did not differ from them, since they take so much pains to engross them all to themselves."

The able character of the foregoing pamphlet, as it was calculated to produce a favourable impression upon the public, so it did not fail to elicit several replies. One of them, with the *imprimatur* of "Guil. Delaune, Vice-Can. Oxon," is intitled, "A Letter to a Friend: In which the Occasional Conformists are proved to be guilty of Schism and Hypocrisy. In answer to some Arguments produced to the contrary, in a late Pamphlet, intitled, 'The Rights of Protestant Dissenters,' &c. Oxford: Printed at the Theatre, &c. 1704." 4to. The object of the author, is to prove from the writings of the fathers, that diocesan episcopacy is consonant to the practice of the early ages of the Church, and that the Dissenters, by setting up separate assemblies, and discarding episcopal ordinations, are guilty of schism.

Another reply to Mr. Shute, from a member of the same University, but of a less sober character, being wholly devoid of argument, bore the following title: "The Rights of the Church of England asserted and proved: In an Answer to a late Pamphlet, intitled, 'The Rights of the Protestant Dissenters, in a Review of their Case. Printed in the year 1705." 4to. It is seldom that so much malignant feeling has been embodied in language, as is to be found in this

pamphlet. The torrents of scurrility poured forth from the stores of this passionate writer, could excite no other feeling than contempt, in the unfortunate victims of his hatred. Had his arguments for an ecclesiastical despotism, been of a more formidable nature, they would have been neutralized by his asperity; but they were, like his hatred to liberty, founded upon pretensions too extravagant to be entertained by any person in his right senses. A mind overcharged with bigotry will extract poison from the most wholesome food. So to the frightful imagination of this writer, who could discern nothing but deformity beyond the pale of his own church, the existence of beings who presumed to dispute her authority, was an evil not to be endured. With the most daring effrontery, he delivers over the whole body of Dissenters to the government, as rebels and schismatics, unworthy to be tolerated, and fit subjects for its summary vengeance. "Not to plead guilty to this indictment, so long charged, and so fully proved upon 'em," says he "is not only disrespectful to her majesty, but their pestering her with saucy clamours, is enough to weary out her patience, and force her, though unwillingly, to exert that justice, which, notwithstanding their frequent provocations, and exasperating abuses, she has yet suspended. Doubtless, her majesty's prudence knows how to interpret and resent such aggravating abuses of her goodness, and inflaming provocations of her justice, and is better acquainted with the common interest of the nation, and the danger the church may incur from their plots and cabals, than to repose too much confidence in men of such pernicious principles and practices, equally sworn adversaries to herself and both." The interest of the nation with these furious churchmen, was identical with the temporal prosperity of the church: and this was estimated by her power to harass and persecute other Christians.

But the savage feelings of the writer now before us, if they could not be glutted with the blood of his victims, vented

themselves in torrents of reproach. In order to this, he exhausts the very dregs of language for terms of vituperation; and like the canvas of Breughel, represents in fiend-like images, the hideous features of his own disordered mind. With hardened malice, he distorts the plainest facts to blacken his opponents, and propagates the most daring falsehoods to load them with crimes of the deepest dye.

The sentiments and language of this work, afford a faithful illustration of De Foe's "Shortest Way," which, instead of being an exaggerated picture of the men whose principles are denounced in that satire, really falls short in the comparison. To justify the complaints of these angry men, the author affixed to his pamphlet, "a short specimen of some scandalous books and libels, collected out of that infinite number of them, written lately against the Church of England by the Presbyterians." Most of the books enumerated in his catalogue, are purely of a controversial nature, such as those of Owen, Clarkson, and Calamy, and the answers to the London cases; but he has added some of De Foe's pamphlets, and calls him and Tutchin, "the two foul-mouths of the party:" and that no one may be at a loss to discover the bent of his mind, he adds, "all which scandalous and rebellious libels, with a thousand more of their godly works of the same stamp, would disgrace the hands of the common hangman, to commit to those flames which they so justly deserve."

De Foe, in one of his pamphlets,* has given us a clue to the author of this virulent performance. "The Oxford gentleman, they say, has appeared again in the world, to advance the rights of the church, in answer to a late pamphlet called 'The Rights of the Dissenters.'" This "Oxford gentleman," who forfeited all claim to the title, was no other than the notorious Sacheverell, who was the real author, and raised a reputation amongst the bigots of his party, by the violence and malignity of his writings.

* Serious Inquiry.

With a view to moderate the heat now kindled in the nation, a writer before noticed, and hitherto known by the zeal with which he had promoted the views of the more violent, published his "Essays upon Peace at Home, and War Abroad. By Charles Davenant, L.L.D. London, 1703." 8vo. Dedicated to the queen. The object of the writer is to persuade all parties to lay aside their animosities, and to unite in their own defence against the common enemy. In order to this, he labours to dissuade the party, with which he had been connected, from renewing the bill to prevent Occasional Conformity, as a measure that would be likely to increase our divisions, and embarrass the government. The work is said to have been written by the encouragement of the Lord Treasurer Godolphin, who gave the author a place, with a handsome salary, which in the present state of his finances, was very acceptable. It has been asserted, that the Earl of Halifax, one of the leaders of the Whigs, had a principal share in his conversion; but whether it was the arguments of his lordship, or the eloquence of office, it is certain that his political apostacy drew upon him the bitter resentment of the party he had quitted, and occasioned him to be treated as a profligate scribbler. Davenant, however, possessed talents, or he would not have been worth his purchase; but his conversion was not real, so that he was treated with suspicion by his new friends, who never heartily respected him.

As he had been formerly so severe upon the Whigs, he had the greater reason to tolerate the strictures that were now made upon him by his old friends, of which the following may serve as a sample. "What made the schismaticks carry their heads higher than ordinary, was the defection of one of the church-party's chiefest champions, Dr. Davenant, who personated his own *Tom Double*, and by relinquishing the side of those gentlemen, who by their own generosity to him in his greatest necessities, had he been

master of any gratitude, might have entirely devoted him to their service; but a mercenary temper inclines always to those who bid most, and never respects the cause, but the purchase money. Twelve hundred pounds *per annum* was what he had not been used to, and it was no sooner offered, but he parted with his morals to catch hold of it, and out came *Essays upon Peace at Home and War Abroad,* to give us a sketch of his playing a state Proteus, and with what flexibility he could bend like the needle to the north pole, or like the divination rod, make the place where the money lay the centre to which he inclined. What he had urged before in defence of church principles, and unlimited loyalty, was now circumscribed within narrow bounds; and his *Resumption of Grants,* &c., which the Whigs had got possession of, was flung aside for a lecture of moderation. No such thing as parties ought to be entered into now: he had deserted his for a good salary, and *Peace and Union* was what had been earnestly recommended to both houses of parliament, and the whole nation ought to give ear to that admonition which had been inculcated into their representatives." *

Davenant was satirized in "The True Tom Double, or an Account of Dr. Davenant's late Conduct and Writings, particularly with relation to the XIth Section of his Essays on Peace at Home and War Abroad. With some Latin Memorandums for the Doctor's use. Lond." 4to, no date. The writer, bearing in mind his former treatment of the Whigs, adopts his own terms of reproach, and turns them against himself. He says, that proposals of union come but awkwardly from a man who had lately written so fiercely against one of the parties; but "his secretaryship to the Scotch Union, doubtless gave the first turn to his thoughts, and put him into the moderate way; and then a second favour quite cooled his zeal, and finished the work of conver-

* History of Faction, p. 118.

sion." The writer asks sarcastically, if the man who has betrayed his friends, and who has so often represented his present patrons as the betrayers of their country, is not excellently well qualified to set up for a mediator between the parties? He observes, that "The ablest and most artful pens have ever found it an impracticable thing to change sides, and yet preserve their reputation; no wonder, therefore, if a writer of the Doctor's size smarts so deeply under the same experiment." Davenant was also attacked by several other writers, but prudently refrained from replying to them.

Notwithstanding the sarcasms showered down upon him for his apostacy, Davenant was far from a contemptible writer. Of his talent for ridicule, he had already given proof in his satires upon the Whigs; but he wrote equally well upon politics and commerce, although the spirit of party predominated too greatly in his performances. His judgment does not appear to have been equal to his learning; and as he allowed his principles to be overpowered by his necessities, it diminished the deference that would otherwise have been paid to his opinions.(x)

(x) The following account of him by a contemporary writer, is probably a correct portrait:—"CHARLES DAVENANT, LL.D., is son of Sir William Davenant, the poet; bred up to the civil law. In the reign of King James, he was made a Commissioner of the Excise, but turned out at the Revolution, although by a book which he then wrote, he seemed to understand that branch of the revenue very well. He made several advances to the ministry in King William's time, but to no purpose. Their neglect, and his poverty, soured him to that degree, as to prove the greatest scourge they had, and the greatest instrument to lessen them with the people. His book on *Trade* and its *Balance*, when they were setting up a new East India Company. His Treatise on *Grants* and *Resumptions*, when the parliament recalled those in Ireland; and his *Collection of Treaties* at the Partition, are so many libels on the ministry: his *Dialogue* between *Whiglove and Double*, calculated for the meanest capacity, gave a sparring blow in the country, which was visible in the elections for the parliament that was then chosen. He hath been of the House of Commons several sessions, but never made any figure; his talent lay more in writing than speaking. On

In the course of his Essays, Davenant had launched out into a variety of topics not immediately connected with the subject in debate, but involving matters of great political importance. From the manner in which he treated them, it was evident that although he had shifted his party, his opinions remained unchanged; and being at variance with popular rights, they exposed him to animadversion. This was particularly the case with his chapter on "The Danger of Appeals to the People," which brought into discussion the grave question of original power. De Foe, who had already handled the subject with conciseness and ability, thought himself called upon to defend the argument of his former essay, and now published "Original Right; or the Reasonableness of Appeals to the People: Being an Answer to the First Chapter in Dr. Davenant's Essays, entitled 'Peace at Home, and War abroad.' London: Printed and Sold by A. Baldwin, near the Oxford Arms in Warwick Lane. 1704," 4to. pp. 30.

In entering upon the subject, De Foe remarks, "How easy it is for men of wit to give any thing a fair face, and by a happy turn of language, to call things of contrary subjects by the same name; Dr. Davenant depriving the people of all power but what is representative, and giving the delegated power a superiority over the power delegating; Sir Humphrey Mackworth defending an occasional Bill; and both presented to the world with the equivocal title of 'Peace at Home,' and dedicated to the Queen, with high strains of eloquence, of which both are very good

the Queen's accession to the throne, he was made secretary to the Union with Scotland; his son was sent resident to Frankfort; and himself afterwards made Inspector-General. He was very poor at the Revolution; had no business to support him all the reign of King William; yet made a good figure. He is a very cloudy looking man, fat, of middle stature, about fifty years old." The same writer describes his son as "a very giddy-headed young fellow, with some wit; about twenty-five years old." *

* Macky's Memoirs, p. 132, 154.

masters." He tells both writers, that "If they are driving at 'Peace at Home,' 'tis by some *Antiperistasis*, some contraries in nature, and consequently the end they aim at is as remote as the means are tedious."

In his chapter on "The Danger of Appeals to the People from their Representatives in Parliament," Davenant had evidently in view De Foe's Essay on "The Original Power of the People of England." He says, "That some doctrines have been spread abroad in an open manner, pretending, that in reference to the public, the people and their representatives have distinct rights. That the people have not devolved their whole power in government upon their representatives: That Parliaments are accountable to, and to be controlled in all their proceedings by the people: That 'tis always lawful, and often expedient, to appeal from the House of Commons to the people: That these things have been printed, arraigning the whole proceedings of the House of Commons, calling their undoubted privileges in question, and as it were, appealing to the rabble from all their resolutions." It will be easily seen by those who have read his book, that this is a gross misrepresentation of De Foe's opinions, nor is it likely that any other writer had gone to the full length of Davenant's positions. With some reason, therefore, our author says, "It were to be wished that these quotations had been marked with proper references to the respective authors or books, which have advanced the things alleged, that the originals being examined, might be assisted to speak for themselves."

In examining what the Doctor had advanced upon the subject, De Foe says, "I wish the author had been pleased to tell us, what he calls appeals to the people, and that he had distinguished between the just right of the people and their representatives, and between those authors who are for maintaining the due currency of right in every part of it, and those who are guilty, as he says, of giving authority a mortal

blow. Doubtless there are those who do not believe that all power is given to the representative, and none left with the represented, and yet are not for overthrowing the privileges of their representatives; and of these I profess myself to be one. The rights of the Commons of England with respect to the crown, and the supreme authority of their king, have been often discussed, sometimes with the pen, and sometimes with the sword; and, however some have affected a doctrine of non-resistance, the representatives of the nation have always thought fit to assume a right to defend their liberties, when they have found them invaded by exorbitant power. But what the rights of the Commons in Parliament are, and how far they extend with respect to those from whom they come there, has never yet been ascertained by Parliament. Some Essays have been made this way from the press, and Sir H. M. gave us a scheme of parliamentary power, drawn to a higher extreme than ever any House of Commons has thought fit to extend the practice. A subsequent author," alluding to himself, "thought fit to advance some contrary notions, which, however they are in general exploded by both these authors, have never yet met with any fair confutation."

Davenant having asserted, that the whole power of the people was devolved upon their representatives, De Foe combats his position at considerable length, and with great acuteness. "The people," says he, "have a right when the king dissolves their representative, to chuse another. This power their representative has not; it is a distinct right. If the people had no power but what was devolved upon their representatives, then having once chosen them, that body should upon every dissolution nominate a succession of representatives. But whenever the crown dissolves a parliament, the people have a power to choose anew; and if so, then the power of the people is not devolved upon their representatives, but *these* have some right distinct

from *them*. Nor can I see any thing in this which tends to confusion, or which is any way destructive of the constitution. The people may be generally dissatisfied with their representatives, and make loud complaints; but it does not follow that they must immediately rise in tumults, and pull the house about their ears. We have seen a time when a certain house behaved so, that the general cry of the people was to dissolve them; and multitudes of addresses did, in as plain language as decency to the crown would permit, present the people's desire to have them dissolved. But what did this general dislike of their actions lead the people to? Not to draw the sword at their own representatives; that had been a *félo de-se*; but to apply themselves to the sovereign to dissolve them. Upon this application, the king did dissolve them; and the proclamation for that purpose acknowledges the people's right. Where then is the fatality of such an appeal to the people? Since, when they have been something uneasy on that head, it has amounted to no more than to address for a dissolution, that if they don't like these, they may have a better. And the king, from the throne, has declared, that 'tis reasonable they should be gratified."

To prove the danger of appeals to the people, Davenant had referred to the civil wars, which De Foe skilfully turns to his own account. "There are many better reasons," says he, "to be given for the beginning of that war, than their printed papers. The foundation was laid in the grievances of ship-money, monopolies, discontinuing of parliament, clashing in religion, and the like. And yet, in this very case, the author is gone from his argument, and brings in the very representatives themselves appealing to the people, and the king also doing the same. From whence it appears plain to me, that in all cases of extremity, it has been the practice both of kings, parties, private persons, and of parliaments themselves, to appeal to the people, when matters

of right, public oppressions, and extraordinary niceties of state came into question." And he further observes, that "All the public declarations and manifestoes of princes, are in this respect, appeals to the people;" which he supports by examples from foreign history. De Foe adds, "This is an argument in which the author has this advantage of me; that what he advances has no danger in it, and what I ought to reply to it may, though it be really true: and under the restraint of this circumstance, I cannot say that to it which I think the case will bear."

Having disposed of this part of the Doctor's argument, De Foe proceeds to consider another of his political dogmas, which appears to have been framed for the purpose of effect, rather than of argument. It is this: "That wherever the last resort is, there is the sovereignty; and if among us the people have a right to it, then we are a democracy, and not a kingly government." To this De Foe replies, "Whether we have a democracy or a kingly government, is not my business to determine; but that the people of England are the last resort in England, admits of so much demonstration, both from the general practice of this nation, the tacit consent of kings and parliaments, and from the nature of the thing, that I cannot but say, it seems strange to me, that an author of so much knowledge in public affairs, should advance any thing so prejudical to the character all wise men had of his judgment. This has been already offered to the world, in answer to Sir H. M.'s 'Vindication of the Rights of the Commons of England;' and which that learned gentlemen never thought fit to reply to." In support of his doctrine of original power, De Foe introduces some extracts from his former work; and contends, that "Though the collective body of the people are not a fourth estate, yet they are the centre of the other three estates, from whom constitution is derived, and for whom it is

formed. Parliaments," he adds, "are neither infallible nor immortal: the representative may die and be dissolved; but the represented body remains as the great centre of power, the fountain of original right, the last resort of lives, successors, and governors." In confirmation of his argument, he appeals to the late Revolution, as a case in point; and contends, that in all governments the nature of the thing implies, "That when succession, or representative power, ceases, the people collectively considered, have a native right to make settlements and constitutions for the maintaining of order and justice, and for the currency and execution of the laws. If not, confusion and inevitable destruction must be the effect of the demise of a line of kings, or the cessation of a delegated power."

De Foe guards his argument from the imputation of a mob doctrine, by an inquiry, who the people are of whom this original power is thus asserted? And these, he says, are the freeholders at large. In support of this theory, he quotes freely from his former tract, "Because," says he, "no man has ever yet thought fit to confront it either with reason or history." He adds, "Nor is this doctrine of original right any derogation from the just and full authority of parliament, who may, notwithstanding this, exercise all their full and extended privileges, in as ample a manner as is agreeable to all the just ends and purposes for which they were first intended." So far from having any design to lessen parliaments, he says, "I know them to be the bulwark of the people's liberties: but they are not infallible; they may err; and were it safe to speak all the truth, perhaps I might say there has been a time when they have been mistaken in many things."

As De Foe was now in durance vile, and had reason to know that his opinions were unpopular with the government, the discussion of such a subject was a service of danger.

To this he was not insensible; for he says, "Though I have the most hazardous point of the argument, in case by inadvertency I should offend the representatives of the nation now sitting, yet, as I resolve to say nothing but what is in inself true, and justified by infinite precedents, I presume that Honourable House never can resent that which comes in plain English, with truth in its company." There was then a strong party in the Commons, hostile to the rights of the people, and equally distinguished for intemperance. From the violent men who composed this faction, the friends to liberty had just cause for apprehension. But De Foe no where lays himself open to their malice. To a grave subject, he brings an appropriate gravity of discussion; uniting calmness of temper with a force of reasoning not to be resisted. In combatting the political tenets of his opponent, he treats him with more respect than was paid him by his own friends; and his language throughout is marked by the strictest decorum. Although this pamphlet has been hitherto overlooked as De Foe's, there is sufficient internal evidence of its genuineness; and it forms a proper companion to his former treatise upon the same subject.

CHAPTER VIII.

Publications to Blacken the Dissenters.—Leslie publishes "The Wolf stript of his Shepherd's Cloathing."—Levelled partly at De Foe.—Leslie's curious Apology for Hypocrisy.—His Notions of the Priesthood.—His Tools for Conversion.—Eulogizes the Stuarts.—His Account of the Impression produced by "The Shortest Way."—Character and Object of his Work.—De Foe replies to it in "The Dissenters' Answer to the High Church Challenge."—He reviews the Controversy with Clarkson and Delaune.—Defends the Politics of the Dissenters.—Strictures upon the Convocation.—Character of his Work.—De Foe publishes "The Christianity of the High-Church Considered."—Account of his Pamphlet.—Form of Prayer used by King William, published by Bishop Moore.—De Foe's Remarks upon it.—He publishes "Royal Religion."—In which he eulogizes the Piety of King William.—Testimony of Principal Carstares.—Project for restraining the Liberty of the Press.—Remarks upon the subject.—De Foe publishes his Essay upon the Regulation of the Press.—His Sentiments.—Tindal's Tract upon the same Subject.

1704.

NOTWITHSTANDING the late defeat of the high party in parliament, its leaders were far from abandoning themselves to despair, expecting that some future day would realize the accomplishment of their wishes. In order to this, they continued to load the press with criminations of the Dissenters, that judgment being delivered against them, they might the sooner be ordered to execution.

Upon this subject, a contemporary writer observes, "He that looks into the pamphlets that swarm against the Dissenters, like the Egyptian locusts, and darken the truth, as they did the land, will, instead of solid arguments

for constant conformity, or calm replies to the reasons of the Dissenters for stated non-conformity, and an absolute toleration, find personal charges and invectives, that are either fictitious, antiquated, or impertinent. The old story of Forty-one, and of the Rye-House Plot, are new vamped, and set out to the best advantage, and the Dissenters are represented as regicides and Commonwealth's-men; and I know not what feigned designs are trumped up of introducing 'Harrington's Oceana, or the State of Noland;' of abolishing episcopacy, and of setting aside her present Majesty. The moderate churchmen, indeed, generally share these calumnies with the Dissenters. But when they have made the Dissenters, in association with the moderate churchmen, enemies to the church and to the nation, the next thing is to set the Dissenters at variance among themselves.*

The opening of the year 1704 was one of the busiest periods in the history of party. As the props of bigotry began to give way, its champions redoubled their efforts, and were met by corresponding exertions from their opponents.

The cause of toleration, which had been so ably pleaded by De Foe in various publications, was now attacked with great fury by the great high-church champion, Leslie, in "The Wolf Stript of his Shepherd's Cloathing. In Answer to a late celebrated Book, intitled, 'Moderation a Virtue;' wherein the Designs of the Dissenters against the Church, and their Behaviour towards her Majesty, both in England and Scotland, are laid open. With the Case of Occasional Conformity considered. Humbly offered to the Consideration of her Majesty, and her Three Estates of Parliament. By One, called an High-Churchman. With my Service to Dr. Davenant. Sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster, 1704." 4to. pp. 108. The work bearing this singular title, was directed principally against Mr. Owen,

* Case of the Dissenters Reviewed, p. 66.

who had acquired great fame by his publication; but he attacks several other writers, and levels a considerable portion of his pamphlet at De Foe.

After reviewing the subject in debate, he commences a bitter attack upon the Dissenters, for their separation from the Church, which he characterises by the frightful name of schism. He says, "he could bear with their objections to the habits, ceremonies, liturgy, and even the grand point of ordination, if they did not gather separate congregations, and set them up in opposition to the church; for, there are those in her communion who may differ about these things, without any breach of charity, or of the unity of the Church, which requires not that all men should be exactly of the same opinion in matters of discipline, or of faith, but of one communion!" This is a curious apology for hypocrisy, and in the very teeth of the different Acts of Uniformity, which were the sole cause of the separation. But if it be hypocrisy, as he says, to conform occasionally, surely it cannot be less so, to conform altogether, when opposed to the judgment. He is angry with the Dissenters for laughing at the charge of schism, and sets before them the example of Korah, and his company, who "were swallowed up quick into hell, for opposing that priesthood which Moses had set up. And yet," he says, "These wretches think it but a slight matter to oppose and ridicule that priesthood which Christ himself has ordained!" Leslie is sadly mortified at the humiliation of the church, in being put upon an equality with other sects; and he pities the Dissenters, "who know nothing of what belongs to the office of a priest, but what they think is derived from themselves." Since his time, the sacerdotal mysteries have sunk still more in value. Leslie's notions of a church may be deduced from his picture of the low-churchmen. His description is curious. "They think episcopacy an indifferent thing, and only a state-point amongst us. They have no notion of God's having appointed an order of

men to represent him; to transact betwixt him and the people; to sign and seal his covenant with them; and to bless in his name. Or, they think that any one may take this honour to himself, or be empowered thereunto by the people, by any—the vilest of them!" And what is still more horrible, "They think that this can be conferred without episcopal ordination, which has been, from the Apostles' days, the way of the whole earth. They think the Christian priesthood is not so sacred a thing as was that of the Levitical;" and, moreover, "They have reduced every thing in the church, both as to her government, liturgy, and all holy offices, all outward institutions, to a wild enthusiasm, to what they call the life of God in the soul; to the Quakers light within; to all the extravagance of Popish mysteries. They have left no one stone upon another in the church, as an outward visible society.—These are the men of moderation! of large thoughts! of universal and comprehensive charity!" That his readers may not split upon the same rock, Leslie tells them that the word *moderation*, is to be found but once in the Bible, and there it is mis-translated; the word implying, *a cheerful and modest suffering*. And that we may not mistake the value of his zeal, he says, "There are none more desirous of the reconciliation of the Dissenters, because none are so sensible of the dangerous state that they are in, by their schism from episcopacy, which is, from the Catholic Church of all ages; and they would go, as far as possible, to purchase their union with the church, so as not to throw themselves out of it!"

Leslie's tools for conversion were somewhat akin to those of St. Dominic. His abhorrence of schism did not lessen his regard for the schismatic; for like the saint of old, he would compel him to come in, in order that he might be saved. The sins of the Papist are venial, in comparison with his; for, "We have had two Popish reigns since the Reformation, of five years each. In the first, about 200 suffered, and gained

the crown of martyrdom; in the latter, none at all. But what is this to the thousands, I may say millions of souls, that have been sent to the other world by the Dissenters, not as martyrs, but reeking in the mortal sins of schism and rebellion!" The noise they have made about persecution, he tells us, was only a pretence to cover some mischief. "Thus it was in all their bellowings against King Charles I. and II., two of the most merciful princes that ever sat on the English throne, or perhaps any other." Leslie's notions of mercy were as curious as his ideas of the priesthood. In reference to the last Charles, he says, "If his was a Popish reign, as Whigs and Dissenters represented, I wish we may never see worse; for we never had more halcyon days than in his time. The church flourished, and we had peace and plenty!" They were, indeed, prosperous days for Leslie's church, and so were those of Queen Mary for another order of ecclesiastics; but the persecuted sects thought otherwise. With such a *Note* of his church, it is no wonder that he gives a doleful picture of succeeding times.

In order to stir up the government to a revival of these "halcyon days," he asks, "Can any man imagine, that the malice and restless endeavours of the Dissenters against the church and the crown, which began upon their first appearance in England, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and has been carried on through all the after reigns, in plots and conspiracies of several denominations, should not now be as pregnant towards her majesty, as it has been fruitful to her royal progenitors! Are not their principles the same, both as to the church and monarchy, and their affection to the race of the Stuarts? which they have presumed to vilify, in what they dedicate to her Majesty, as I have instanced before, in Davenant and De Foe." He then cites some books to show their disloyalty; and says, "Of a piece in this consummated wickedness, was De Foe's 'Shortest Way with the Dissenters;' and the party caus-

ing his books to be hawked and publicly sold about the pillory, while he stood upon it in triumph for writing them! and writes on still. And the advertisements in our newspapers are filled with new editions of his works, among which this 'Shortest Way,' for which he was pilloryed, still bears the bell. For, he has since published another 'Shortest Way,' as he calls it, to Peace and Union, which is before quoted, and puts upon it, 'by the author of the Shortest Way with the Dissenters.' He glories in the title. And in his verses since published, often brings in for rhyme, and the burden of his song, 'The Shortest Way:' So far is he, or the party, from thinking the pillory a shame in such a cause!" Leslie adds, "The design of 'The Shortest Way with the Dissenters' was as wicked as can be imagined, notwithstanding all the fig leaves he has sewed before it. For what other end could it be, to make the Dissenters believe that the high-church were for the Shortest Way of cutting all their throats; but to prompt the Dissenters, for their own preservation, to begin with us! If there was no wicked design in it, why did the author deny it, and abscond till found out by the hand of justice? Why did the faction so industriously spread it about that it was wrote by the high-church? which many believed, and might to this day, if the government had not taken pains to find out the author. And now they turn the tables and laugh at us, and say, it was only a piece of wit! Tho' I remember well, that before the trick was discovered, they were ready to fly in our faces, and call us blood-thirsty and diabolical men; and that it would never be well with the nation while one of us was left in it!"

This is a curious account of the impression made upon the high party by De Foe's satire, which, notwithstanding their affected squeamishness, cut them deeper than they were willing to acknowledge. In the same doleful strain, Leslie continues, "They attack the people by all manner of means,

in prose and verse, though without sense or rhyme. Fish are caught with several baits. There is just now come out "*The Fable of the Beasts and their King.*" It looks like a piece of De Foe's poetry; and is of the same strain as the horrid anthems sung at their Calves'-Head feasts, calling the people to arms, and to shake off monarchy. This tells these beasts of the people, their legion,

> "You all must neither tameness know, nor fear;
> But with the dreadful host march on and try,
> To live with freedom, or else bravely die."

Leslie was mistaken in his author, as well as in the principles of the men upon whom he showers his coarse and illiberal abuse. But he took a wrong measure of human nature, when he thought to scold men into the church. His whole pamphlet is one bitter invective against the Dissenters as rebels and schismatics, shut out from the hope of salvation, and therefore unworthy to hold any political rights, or indeed to be tolerated in a community of Christians. To shew the danger of admitting them to a share of the legislature, he says, "While the Dissenters have votes in choosing parliament-men, they will find enough of those who will be willing, for a valuable consideration, to undermine both church and state." Time has already undermined some of this author's notions, particularly the following: "Let men make what noise they please with their sanctity and moderation, while they continue to despise and trample upon church authority, which God has made the pillar and ground of the truth, they are but wolves in whatever sheep's or shepherd's cloathing! For, without the belief of a divine authority lodged in the character of bishops and of kings, it is impossible for any to be a sound churchman, or a loyal subject." In the days of the Lollards, Leslie would have made an excellent inquisitor; but he was born a few centuries too late for his happiness. Even at the time he wrote, he was a dangerous

man, for numbers were infected with his opinions. The time for their influence, however, is happily gone by, and they now excite only ridicule for their absurdity. The second part of "The Wolf Stript," published in 1707, was not by the same author.

It was not likely that so bitter a pamphlet as "The Wolf Stript," should pass unnoticed by the writers assailed in it. As De Foe had been brought in for a considerable share of the author's abuse, he administered a proper rebuke to him in "The Dissenters' Answer to the High-Church Challenge. London, Printed in the year 1704." 4to. pp. 55. He begins by saying, "As it is the character of the devil to bring a railing accusation, so no man of sense or manners cares to imitate him. All men of learning that ever I met with, will allow that people may differ, debate, and dispute, without Billingsgate language; that invidious names, and indecent reproaches, serve to gratify the spleen, and flow from a redundancy of gall, but add no manner of force to the argument. The author of a late pamphlet, with a title as long as a book, and called 'The Wolf Stript,' must not expect a return of dirt for dirt; and while he fills his book with the exuberance of his hypochondriac vapours, he ought to be looked upon as an author not worth while to meddle with. If a gentleman should fight with a chimney-sweeper, he may beat the man, but he will daub himself so much that the victory is not worth the disorder it will put him into. In like manner, he that will deal with him in his own way, must foul his mouth with so much bear-garden language, such rude, unmannerly, and unscholar-like behaviour, that he must be tainted with the ungrateful savour of his malignancy." De Foe says to him, with his usual archness, "Whether you have any professors of the scolding talent among your students we know not, for you will not suffer us to be taught in your universities; but we assure you that

in those shools where we are fain to bring up our youth, we teach no such science."

Leslie having challenged the Dissenters to produce to the Convocation a list of such indifferent things as stood in the way of their conformity, De Foe observes, "Had this been a new challenge, this author might have had some reason to expect a reply; but since I find his reading as short as his censure is hasty, I think the properest method is to revise what of this kind has been already done, and still remains unanswered."

In descending to particulars, De Foe says, "I think there stand two books of the learned Mr. Clarkson, yet unanswered; the one intitled, 'No Scripture Evidence for Diocesan Bishops,' the other, 'A Discourse of Liturgies.' 'Tis true, there is a long and learned discourse of Dr. Comber's, the precentor of York, wherein, with some of our author's spirit, he treated the memory of Mr. Clarkson neither like a gentleman nor a scholar, though all men know he was as much of both as ever the nation bred; and though a Dissenter, had the honour to be tutor to the learned and most excellent Dr. Tillotson, late Archbishop of Canterbury. After this author has pleased himself with sufficiently reproaching his deceased antagonist, he goes on to rummage antiquity to prove that liturgies were in use in the primitive church, which had been anticipated by Mr. Clarkson, and formed no part of the dispute. This related solely to their imposition as terms of communion. Nay, so ridiculous was this answerer in the management of himself, both in the search of antiquity, and in rendering those authors he quotes, that a learned minister of the Church of England, merely with a respect to justice and learning, replied to him, and made it appear that the Doctor did not so much as understand the language of the quotations. This was Mr. Samuel Bold, rector of Steeple, in Dorsetshire." De Foe adds,

"This I suppose is some people's way of answering the Dissenters. But, I must take the freedom to say, it has yet remained unproved, that ever a strict compliance to any prescribed form of worship was imposed as a condition of communion in any branch of the Christian Church, for above four hundred years after our Saviour's time; nay, 'twould be hard to prove it ever done in any church in the world but our's to this day; and they are still welcome to make it out if they can. That there were bishops in the primitive church has also been defended with a great deal of skill; but as to their diocesan royalty and jurisdiction, they have always, in prudence, thought fit to let the dispute alone: and I would advise them to do so still, for they must find some other book to defend it from than the Scripture, and some other ages of the world to search for the practice in, than that of the primitive church."

Proceeding to another celebrated work, De Foe says, "But, I must confess, the Dissenters were worsted another way in the case of Mr. Delaune, of whose remarkable story this is the abstract. Dr. Calamy preaching a sermon at Aldermanbury Church, intitled, 'A Discourse about scrupulous Consciences,' makes the Dissenters this fair challenge: "Could we but prevail with the people diligently to examine the merits of the cause, our church would every day gain ground amongst all wise men; for we care not how much knowledge and understanding our people have, so they be but humble and modest with it: nor do we desire men to become our proselytes any farther than we give them Scripture for it." Mr. Delaune, a man whose learning and temper were conspicuous to the learned world, and particularly in the book he wrote, accepts this challenge, and writes down his reasons for non-conformity; and, as the Doctor had printed his sermon, and thereby appealed to the world, Mr. Delaune thought himself obliged to print his reply. But as the victory consisted, as it does still, in boasts and rhodomontades,

so they were both to be overcome, and immediate care was taken to suppress the book, by seizing the copy at the printers. This was followed by seizing the author for writing a seditious libel, putting him in prison, fining him *ultra tenementum*, and they were hardly prevailed upon to excuse him the favour of the pillory, which they told him in court was only remitted in respect to his learning. Here was a true church conquest; and this gentleman was persecuted with so much true church zeal, that he lay in Newgate for his fine, till he, his wife, and children, died there, to the eternal scandal both of the Churchmen and the Dissenters: the one that they should first challenge a dispute, and then so basely treat the man that accepted it; and the other, that they should not contribute seventy-five pounds to save a life sacrificed for their defence; and such a life, as for real merit, deserved infinitely more regard in a nation of humanity and religion, as we fancy ourselves to be." The reader will remember that this happened in Leslie's halcyon days of Charles II.

De Foe adds, "In like manner, they proceed still with the Dissenters, by repeating the charge of rebellion and faction; whereas they have been challenged over and over to make out their own loyalty to exceed that of the Dissenters. And De Foe's Test of the Church of England's Loyalty, has received yet no other answer than his 'Shortest Way,' by a fine *ultra tenamentum*, and the reproachful answer of the pillory. If this be your way of answering arguments, 'tis no wonder you can worst the Dissenters."

De Foe contends that these people had something ulterior in view, beyond the mere ecclesiastical controversy, which they concerned themselves so little in discussing. Hence their constant diverging into the politics of the Dissenters, and the fabrication of plots and conspiracies, in order to render them odious to the government. But, "We can allow you all these, and many more than is true," says he,

"and yet prove that your principles are as disloyal, and your practices have been as full of rebellion as our's. You have made as many insurrections against the established governors of the nation as we; you have made as many factions against the princes and the laws, took up arms as often, killed as many kings, or endeavoured to do it, as we. Upon the subject of plots, of which Leslie had given so pompous a detail, De Foe says, "it would be hard to prove the Dissenters so concerned every time they were hanged for it; but it should not be forgotten, that they had suffered in the cause of monarchy: and he then wore upon his finger a mourning ring, given at the funeral of Mr. Christopher Love, who was beheaded for a plot, which had for its object the restoration of Charles II."

In reference to the Convocation, he says, "But, after all, suppose our grievances were laid before it, will this author assure us of relief that way? Will he be pleased to tell us whether that body, who have now sat above fifteen years annually, have done one act or thing for the benefit of the church they represent? Or have they done any thing but wrangle among themselves? Have not some gentlemen filled the world with volumes and learned tracts on little matters, relating to adjournings and recesses of that assembly! That one difficulty seems not yet mastered; and how can we expect that spirit of candour, that temper of mind which is absolutely necessary to bring to pass so great a blessing as this of a Protestant union? Upon the whole, it seems to me, this man of gall has overshot himself, and gone beyond his commission; has made a proposal he has no authority for; and promises for people that will not perform for him. Wherefore, upon the whole matter, as we have small reason to hope for a reconciliation of principle, I think the present business of the nation is to arrive at a reconciliation of parties, a conjunction of interests, a general

union of affection; that the strife of factions may cease, and that clamour and contention may be at an end."

The style and spirit of De Foe's work form a perfect contrast to that of his opponent. It is written with great coolness, judgment, and good sense, mixed up with considerable archness, and with less asperity than might be looked for, in dealing with so coarse an adversary. Instead of following him through the desultory matter of his pages, he confines himself strictly to the argument; and displays considerable powers as a controversialist, both in the logical disposition of his subject, and in his intimate acquaintance with the points at issue. Those who admire fairness of discussion will concede the praise of it to this effort of our author's pen; and the Dissenters were under considerable obligations to him for rescuing them from the misrepresentations of one of their bitterest enemies.

In the early part of this year, the pen of De Foe was unceasingly employed in canvassing the claims of the high party, and in repelling the calumnies they were so industrious in heaping upon their opponents. To some of his pamphlets at this time it is difficult to assign the exact order of precedency, there being nothing in their contents to fix them to a particular occasion. They were, however, all connected with the grand subject that occupied the public attention, and demonstrated the activity of the writer in serving the cause that laid so near his heart.

One of the pamphlets to which this remark applies, is intitled "The Christianity of the High Church considered. Dedicated to a Noble Peer. London: printed in the year 1704. 4to. pp. 20." The peer alluded to was Lord Haversham, whom he highly commends for his zeal in opposing the late pernicious bill; "which, at that juncture, was enough to dispirit all our allies, and draw upon us the sad

effect of a civil war." He says, "Whoever were the originals of that French court-card, I am not bound to tell the world at present; but sure I am, without further information, they are marked plain enough already to expose themselves, if ever we should do any otherwise than well."

Our author begins by observing, that as charity and love are the two grand pillars which uphold Christianity, so nothing can be more effectual for promoting that peace and union so earnestly recommended by her majesty. But it has been the unhappiness of high-churchmen, when they have the government in their hands, not only to debar the Dissenters from those privileges which belong to them as Englishmen, but to calumniate them with misrepresentations and forgeries, in order to render them obnoxious to the revengeful treatment of their enemies. In support of this charge, he refers to the writings of Sacheverell, who loaded them with the most contumelious epithets. These, he says, are not terms for Christians to use, and afford too great cause to suspect, that the spirit of Christianity is fled from amongst them. In order to shew the spirit by which Churchmen had been actuated, he traces their conduct to other sects through the reigns of our several princes from the time of the Reformation, and concludes, that nothing would serve their turn but persecution, and the utter extirpation of all those who would not accord with them in the doctrines of passive-obedience and non-resistance, which they themselves never stood firmly by, but only advanced to serve a turn. In relation to the old story of the civil wars, which had been so often brought forward to calumniate the Dissenters, "only because they were so wise as not to suffer their liberties to be taken from them," he says, "And here, these loyal church-heroes cannot but own, that whatever troubles their mother the liturgical church underwent at that time, 'twas all her own fault, or the negligence of her sons: For, had they not given shelter to the Romish emissaries and French bigots, all might have

gone on fair and prosperous on her side: And, if a certain prince had not aspired too greedily after arbitrary monarchy, (by the insinuations of a French queen, though otherwise a conscientious and religious prince,) there had been no cause of a civil war. Had he not invaded the rights and privileges of his people and parliament, by suffering their enemies to swarm in upon them, and by cruel imposition of oppressive taxes, contrary to the will and advice of his parliament, he might have reigned quietly for all the Dissenters. But, when a prince encroaches on the rights and privileges of this nation, Englishmen won't bear it; whether noble or ignoble, Churchmen or Dissenters, 'tis all one; witness the Revolution in 1688."

De Foe tells the advocates of the late bill, that the Dissenters possessed too great a stake in the nation to be justly suspected of any attempt to undermine the government, which would necessarily involve their families in ruin. He therefore complains of the hardship imposed upon them, by their being excluded from the privileges of Englishmen, simply for their non-conformity; and says, if this is not persecution, he desires to be informed what is?

Towards the beginning of the year, Dr. Moore, bishop of Norwich, published a small volume, intitled "A Form of Prayers used by King William, Lond. 1704." It was introduced with a Preface by his lordship, vouching for their authenticity, being faithfully printed from the original papers used by his majesty. By their being made public, the good bishop tells us, "Men will see the high regard his majesty had for the duties of the Christian religion, and how well he employed himself at the Lord's table; where his behaviour was ever most grave, humble, and devout." He tells us, that the king was in the habit of retiring daily, both morning and evening, for private devotions; "It is therefore hoped, that some right hereby will be done to the sacred

memory of that excellent prince, who was the glorious instrument of preserving the pure religion, the ancient laws, and known liberties of the kingdom." (Y)

"When kings pray," says De Foe, "it may well be put in a book: And 'tis remarkable to all the world, that in all our list of kings from the Conquest, there is not one word of prayer recorded, no, not in the most flattering, fulsome histories of their lives, King Edward the Sixth, and King William excepted." A work of this description, so eminently calculated to exalt the memory of a prince, whom it was then the fashion to revile, was a source of bitter mortification to high-churchmen. "Bedlam," says De Foe, "is hardly strong enough to hold them, when they reflect that it should be vouched by a bishop; for it has so hooked them in, that all the design of making it a Presbyterian plot, is knocked on the head.—His Lordship is sufficiently cursed for giving his *imprimatur* to the work, and has already had the opportunity of hearing himself called a thousand Presbyterians, Whigs, and Traytors to the Church."

This was a welcome subject to De Foe, who seized the opportunity for declaring his own sentiments, in a pamphlet entitled "Royal Religion; being some Enquiry after the Piety of Princes, with Remarks on a Book, entitled 'A Form of Prayers used by King William.' London, Printed in the year 1704." 4to. pp. 27.

De Foe's remarks upon the bishop's work are of a friendly nature, and designed to forward his object in printing it. Royal religion, he says, is an empty subject, like a lawyer's honesty, or my lord Rochester's poem upon Nothing. He therefore ransacks history to find materials to work upon, but is forced at length to relinquish it as a fruitless search.

(Y) The prayers are said to have been composed by Archbishop Tillotson, and are printed at the end of his Posthumous Works, by Dr. Barker.

To those who might consider his strictures a banter upon crowned heads, he says, "They are mistaken; and as there is too much matter of fact in the history of it, so I must tell them, 'tis less than a just return to those hot-mouthed gentlemen, who have bestowed a plentiful strain of their wit, as they call it, upon this Manual. I know nothing but the general scandal on the religion of princes which can be a handle for these gentlemen's raillery; and because, perhaps, few of the kings of Europe ever troubled themselves with private devotion, therefore the late king must be so too. Princes perform the duties of religion as a matter of state, and common court-ceremony appoints the chaplains in ordinary to attend at their season. The hours of prayer are regulated as the hours of play; and the clerk of the closet has his work also. These are handsome general ways of treating God Almighty civilly, and the prince vouchsafes to be present as often as he pleases; and we are very willing to cry up the devotion and piety of those that do so. But as for secret closet devotion, we challenge history of times past, or experience of time within our own memory, to match the instance before us.

The enemies of William being forward to question the truth of the fact, he appeals to the testimony of the late Archbishop Tillotson, who often affirmed, that his Majesty was a very devout person, and a constant observer of religious duties, both public and private; which testimony, says De Foe, "As I have had the honour to hear him express, so there are many living witnesses of it." He also refers to the report of the Bishop of Norwich, as "a living testimony from an unbiassed pen, and from unquestioned authority;" his lordship being "a person eminent in piety as well as in office, of known and unspotted integrity, and a practiser of that very quality which he applauds in his sovereign." De Foe adds, "This was not a time for my lord to expect much from the world, for either preserving the memory, or recommending

the example of King William, when so many value themselves upon ill-treating him." In adding his own testimony, he says, "As to his actions in the field, or on the throne, they are far from wanting my pen to defend them; but as to his personal piety, I take the freedom to affirm, from unquestionable authority, and some little positive knowledge, he was a prince of the greatest piety, sincerity, and unfeigned religion, as either history relates, or memory informs of, in the world."

In the life of Principal Carstares, who was confidential secretary to King William, and attended him in his campaigns, the writer says, "That monarch, amidst all the hurry of secular affairs in which he was involved, found leisure for performing the duties of piety and devotion, at which Mr. Carstares frequently assisted him. Upon the day of battle, he always accompanied him in his chariot to the field. He had thus many opportunities of studying the character of that great man in the most trying circumstances, and of admiring his tranquillity and composure immediately before action, as well as his absolute contempt of danger in the field. Mr. Carstares ascribed both the one and the other to the influence of religious principles, no less than to constitutional courage.*"

During the paper war that was now carried on between opposing parties, the high-church writers complained bitterly of the abuses that resulted from the unrestrained liberty of the press. Looking back to former days, when they had it so far wholly in their own hands, that nothing could proceed from their adversaries that had not passed through the ordeal of a state-licenser, who was usually one of their own party, they could not endure with patience the competition for hard words to which they had been so long unaccustomed.

* Carstares' State Papers, p. 38, *n*.

Although, upon a comparison of their writings, they had the manifest advantage in the license they allowed themselves in speaking of their opponents, yet men of their high and arbitrary principles, who had been used to the chair of authority, could not brook opposition, especially when conveyed in the form of satire, or directed against opinions that had long been deemed sacred. Unable to comprehend the sublime maxim, "That truth has nothing to fear from inquiry," and unwilling to admit the possibility of their being mistaken, they abhorred the thought of submitting established opinions to so fearful a hazard. But there was also much craft at the bottom; for they could not but foresee that the free discussion of topics so important as the principles of government, and the claims of the priesthood, would awaken the people to a knowledge of their own rights, and undermine the system of despotism, which the clergy were so anxious to establish, both in church and state. There is, therefore, little room for surprise at the outcry against the liberty of the press, which, when it attacked their favourite dogmas, was immediately pronounced to be licentiousness; not considering how much more obnoxious they were to the charge, by the intemperance of their language, and their own want of forbearance. As the politics of these men were patronized by the government, and the clergy took great pains to instil them into the people, there was great reason to apprehend some vindictive measure against the freedom of the press, which had been thrown open to all parties by the Revolution. This notion was further strengthened by the proceedings in convocation. There, the inferior clergy, true to the principles that have always actuated such assemblies, openly avowed themselves unfriendly to any discussion that affected the dogmas, or the exterior worship of their church, which they modestly construed into an attack upon Religion. In representing their complaints to the Upper House, "they reminded their lordships of the daring licentiousness of the

press, through which, for some years past, several books had been printed, published, and dispersed, in which not only the worship and discipline of the church, but the known fundamentals of our holy religion had been impugned: They therefore desired their lordships to take the matter into their serious consideration; not doubting but that through their interest with those in power, they would be able to provide a speedy and effectual remedy for the growing evil."* They also requested them to use their interest in parliament for a bill to repress the licentiousness of the press.

From so formidable a phalanx, the friends of liberty had every thing to dread. Reason has little chance in a contest with power, which is always dangerous when wielded by incorporated bodies of the clergy; and it would in all probability have been brought to their assistance upon this occasion, had not political circumstances interfered to prevent it. Arguments, however, were not wanting. It was to meet this gathering storm, that De Foe now published "his Essay upon the Regulation of the Press. London: 1704." 4to. Not having been able to procure the pamphlet, the present writer is unable to state his argument; but when the subject was revived some years afterwards, De Foe wrote upon it in his Review, as will be seen, when we come to detail that period of his history. In the mean time, it may be observed, that he was not insensible to the abuses of the press, particularly the practice of pirating popular works; which he would have been glad to see corrected, provided it could be done without any intrenchment upon its liberty. But he deprecated, above all things, the revival of a state-licencer, which would throw the press into the hands of one party, and place it at the mercy of a hireling, who would be the creature of those who paid him. In proposing a remedy for the mischief, De Foe says, "The road is as plain as, that

* Calamy's Life of Baxter, i. 654, &c.

a conjunction of parts makes an addition of quantity. Two short clauses would heal all these evils; would prevent seditious pamphlets, lampoons, and invectives against the government, or at least prevent their going unpunished, and preserve to every man the fruit of his own labour and industry. First—That every author set his name to what he writes; and that every printer or publisher that prints or publishes a book without it, shall be deemed the author, and answerable for the contents. Secondly—That no man shall print another man's copy; or in English, that no printer or bookseller shall rob another man's house; for it really is no better; nor is it any slander, notwithstanding any pretence, to call it by that title."*

The subject was well handled at this time, in a short tract, intitled, "Reasons against restraining the Press. Lond. 1704." It was reprinted in Lord Somers's Tracts, and again by Mr. Baron, in his "Pillars of Priestcraft." The last mentioned editor had a copy of it that formerly belonged to Anthony Collins, in which it was ascribed to Dr. Tindal, who, there can be no doubt, was the real author. It is an able defence of free inquiry, and contains many unanswerable arguments to shew that there can be no rational freedom in any state, but where the liberty of the press is maintained.

* Preface to the second vol. of his Writings.

CHAPTER IX.

The Establishment of the Reformation in Scotland.—Where it assumes the Presbyterian Form.—And takes Root in the Nation.—The Stuarts become Converts to Prelacy.—And Persecute their Scottish Subjects.—Their horrible Cruelties.—De Foe's Vindication of the Sufferers.—Re-establishment of their Church at the Revolution.—Confirmed by various Acts of Parliament.—Contests between the Presbyterians and the Prelatists.—The latter take courage from the Accession of the Queen.—They correspond with the English Bishops.—Petition for a Toleration.—Their Encroachments upon the Church of Scotland.—Forbearance of the Presbyterians.—Base Conduct of Paterson, a deprived Bishop.—Bigotry of both Parties.—De Foe discusses the Claims of the Scotch Dissenters in a Pamphlet.—State of Religion in Ireland.—Ascendancy of the Catholics.—Good Conduct of the Presbyterians at the Revolution.—They are rewarded by King William.—His Bounty revoked by Queen Anne.—The Union of Protestants broken by her Ministers.—Bill for Preventing the Growth of Popery.—Dishonourable Conduct of the Government.—Ludicrous Character of High-Church Politics.—De Foe writes against the Bill.—And Addresses his Pamphlet to the Queen.—He discusses the Principles of the Measure.—And its Effect upon Ireland.—His Satire upon Church-Politics.

1704.

WHILST De Foe was engaged in the praiseworthy, but arduous employment of attempting to reconcile the differences of his own countrymen, he was not inattentive to what was transacting in other parts of the British empire; and his attention was directed first of all to North Britain.

When the Reformation was established in Scotland under, the superintendency of John Knox, it extended not merely to doctrines and ceremonies, but to the whole frame of the Popish hierarchy. In the room of that lordly edifice which

had been raised by the pride and cupidity of the clergy, with the assistance of the civil power, for the purpose of establishing a dominion over the minds as well as the bodies of men, our northern neighbours substituted the ecclesiastical forms adhered to by most of the foreign Protestants, particularly in France and Switzerland. Dismissing the order of bishops, as originally identical with that of Presbyters, their churches, from this leading tenet, bore the name of Presbyterian, and lodged the government of their concerns in Kirk-Sessions, Presbyteries, Synods, and a General Assembly of the whole church, represented by deputies, which met once a year. In a course of time, the habits of the people became identified with this new order of things; and as the system worked well, so far as concerned the religious instruction of the people, it took a deep root in the nation. After the accession of the Stuarts to the throne of England, the princes of that House were soon converted to the English prelacy; and finding the religion of the South to be most favourable to their schemes of despotism, they resolved upon extending it to Scotland, and to attempt its establishment upon the ruins of Presbytery. The people, there, however, were too closely attached to their religion to resign it easily, and took arms to defend it against the aggressions of their enemies.

During the reigns of the four kings of the House of Stuart, Scotland presented almost one continued struggle between the two parties; but after the Restoration, more particularly, the warfare was carried on with the most desolating cruelty. From that period to the Revolution, it is calculated that nearly twenty thousand persons fell victims to the pride and hatred of the prelatical party. During this reign of terror, the most shocking barbarities were committed in the name of the church, by the relentless savages that were let loose to dishonour religion by their crimes. At the same time, the constancy of the sufferers

inspired the people with courage to maintain their rights, and filled them with abhorrence of the men, and of the cause which they stained with so much cruelty and blood. We have been accustomed from our childhood to look with horror upon the bloody doings in this nation in the reign of Queen Mary, and the present writer would say nothing to extenuate their enormity; but it would be unjust even to the blood-hounds of that comparatively dark period, to place their deeds in competition with the more barbarous treatment of the Scots, in the polite and "halcyon" days of Charles II.; the age of Milton, of Jeremy Taylor, and of Owen. If the volumes of Fox lay open scenes distressing to humanity; the pages of Wodrow are still more fruitful in crimes of equal enormity; perpetrated for the same ostensible purpose of propagating religion; and equally disgraceful to the parties that committed them. (z)

As a cover to the real motives that instigated these proceedings, great pains were taken to propagate the notion, that these innocent sufferers were enemies to the government, and died as rebels rather than as martyrs to their religion: but the state-craft that dictated this hollow device, was too barefaced to answer its purpose. If any reply to it, however, be necessary, it is furnished by De Foe: "The profession of the sufferers at the place of execution, and

(z) The barbarities exercised upon David Hackstown, of Rathillet, a gentleman related to some of the principal families in Scotland, may be cited as one out of many hundred examples. Besides the tortures they had previously put him to, at the place of execution they cut off both his hands; then drawing him to the top of the gallows with a pulley, he was suffered to fall down a considerable way upon the lower scaffold, with his whole weight, three several times; being raised again, the executioner with a large knife cut open his breast, and pulled out his heart before he was dead; he then stuck his knife into it, and afterwards threw it into a fire prepared for the purpose, along with his other entrails. His head was then severed from his body, which was divided into four quarters, and dispersed in different directions.—*Crookshank's Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, ii. 103.

upon all other occasions, made it clear that they did not oppose government or monarchy as such; but wicked, perjured, and persecuting governors. These they did oppose and declare against, as enemies to God and their country, and as breakers of sacred oaths and covenants, made both with God and man; and they thought themselves bound in conscience to do so, as being discharged from all *civil* allegiance to them by the breach of their coronation engagements; and from all *religious* engagements to them, by their breaking their solemn oath to God and his church, and turning persecutors of that very church they had sworn to maintain. And this they did on the same grounds that justified the Revolution, and on which the Protestant succession of Hanover is now founded; viz. of taking arms against perjured princes, who break their solemn compact with God and their people, renouncing and deposing them, and excluding both them and their race. And, blessed be God, who has given such a testimony in our days to the memory of his saints, and to the truth of the principles which those faithful martyrs in Scotland suffered for, by bringing the whole nation, nay, even some of the persecutors themselves, to take up those very principles, with respect to government and obedience, that those suffering Christians died for, and to cast off that very race as tyrants and robbers, breakers of oaths, and injurious to the people, which these good people were persecuted and murthered for rejecting before." *

"What a shame it is to us," continues De Foe, "and how much to the honour of these persecuted people, that they could thus see the treachery and tyranny of those reigns, when we saw it not; or rather, that they had so much honesty of principle, and obeyed so strictly the dictates of conscience, as to bear their testimony early, nobly,

* Memoirs of the Church of Scotland, p. 274.

and gloriously to the truth of God, and the rights of their country, both civil and religious; while we all, though seeing the same things, and equally convinced of its being right, yet betrayed the cause of liberty and religion by a sinful silence, and a dreadful cowardice; not joining to help the Lord, or the people of the Lord against the mighty; sitting still and seeing our brethren slaughtered and butchered in defence of their principles, which our consciences told us, even then, were founded on truth, and by those tyrants whom we knew deserved to be rejected both of God and the nation, and whom afterwards we did reject accordingly."*(A)

The zeal with which these people entered into the revolution, their ready disposal of the crown to King William, and their fidelity to that monarch, who ruled in righteousness, and respected the rights of conscience, are an ample confutation of the slanders of their enemies. The settlement of religion being left by that prince to the choice of the people, "not a mouth gave a vote for Episcopacy;" † so that they now reaped the reward of their past sufferings by the quiet return of Presbyterianism. With what face the Scotch Episcopalians could afterwards assert they were superior in numbers, may seem strange, says De Foe, "to any that did not know how that party have on all occasions made such things their refuge." He further tells us, "He is thankful, that even at the time they did so, he had the honour, in behalf of the Church of Scotland, to let her Majesty know how untrue that suggestion was, and to convince her ministry how grossly those men endeavoured to impose upon England in that case; as they did at the same time in their boast of the people receiving the English service book with willingness in Scotland, which her Majesty was afterwards fully satisfied was a cheat, and done only to amuse the English clergy, and get money of them."‡

* Memoirs of the Church of Scotland, p. 276. † Ibid, p. 299. ‡ Ibid.

(A) See note at the end of this chapter.

As soon as the Convention of Estates was turned into a parliament, its first measure, after an Act to recognise the king's authority, was a law for the abolition of Episcopacy, which passed July 22, 1689. This early manifestation of sentiment, as De Foe observes, "Makes it abundantly clear, that the general bent and inclination of the people was for presbytery, and that episcopacy was their aversion."* In the next session, an Act was passed, empowering all ministers who had been dispossessed of their churches, since the Restoration, to return to their livings; but the cruel persecutions of the late times had left few alive to avail themselves of this indulgence, so that "I believe I speak within compass," says De Foe, "if I say, that not fifty presbyterian ministers were to be found who claimed the possession of benefices by that Act."† This dreadful waste of human life had so worn out the race of presbyterian pastors, that there were not enough to be found to supply the churches; which circumstance prevented any extensive dispossession of the episcopal ministers. In the same session, the axe was laid to the root of Episcopacy, by an Act "For ratifying the Confession of Faith, and settling Presbyterian Church Government," passed June 7, 1690. The church judicatories were now restored, as a matter of course; and the General Assembly, which had not been seen in Scotland for twenty-eight years, resumed its sitting. By the last-mentioned Act, the General Assembly was empowered "to try and purge out all insufficient, scandalous, and erroneous ministers, by due course of ecclesiastical process and censure." Although the Presbyterians, exasperated by their former sufferings, might have been justly expected to turn the edge of this law against their episcopal persecutors, upon a pretence of error, yet it does not appear that they ever availed themselves of this subterfuge to revenge their injuries. "In fact," says De

* Memoirs of the Church of Scotland, p. 309.

† Present State of Parties, p. 148.

Foe, "no man was, ever since the Revolution, deposed by the church merely for being episcopal, nor was any process ever commenced against any man on that foundation."* Further than this, a provision was made in one of the Acts of the first General Assembly, after the Revolution, "That this Assembly will depose no incumbents simply for their judgment anent the government of the church, and urge re-ordination upon them." How very different was this from the conduct of the episcopal party in England, at the Restoration, when conformity was exacted with the utmost severity, and shoals of ministers were turned out of their livings without any visible means of support!

In the year 1693, the Church of Scotland was further strengthened, by an Act of Parliament to deprive all such ministers as would not take the oaths to the government, and acknowledge the presbyterian establishment. Although this appeared, upon the face of it, a hardship upon the episcopal clergy, it was not so in reality, so far as their ecclesiastical tenets were concerned; for they were, almost to a man, Non-jurors, disaffected to the government, and attached to the interests of the exiled king. "Yet, upon this Act," says De Foe, "I may challenge the episcopal clergy to shew me one minister that ever was deposed for not acknowledging the church, if, at the same time he offered to acknowledge the government, and take the oaths; and they have been often challenged on this head."†

The lenity of the government to this party was further displayed, by a measure that passed in 1695, intitled, "An Act concerning the Church;" by which all episcopal ministers, who were possessed of benefices in Scotland, were allowed to continue in the same, upon no other condition than that of living peaceably, and taking the oaths to the government. No subscription was required to the faith, or discipline

* Hist. Church of Scotland, p. 318. † Present State of Parties, p. 156.

of the Established Church, as was the case in England; no violation of religious principle, nor anything inconsistent with the obligations of a faithful subject. This Act placed it out of the power of the Presbyterians to depose any man merely as an Episcopalian, and reduced the question to one of a political nature. A sixth part of all the parishes in Scotland were now left in the hands of episcopal ministers; and so far were they from paying any homage to the Establishment, that the Presbyterians assembled in private meeting-houses, in some of the same towns under them, like mere Dissenters. "This," observes De Foe, "is a token of forbearance that I might presume no Established Church in Europe, this alone excepted, can give an example of."*

The restlessness of the episcopal clergy, in their state of humiliation, induced them sometimes to outstep the law in obtaining possession of benefices and their annexed manses, without an induction from the proper authorities. This occasioned another law to be passed in the same year, for the additional security of the Establishment, under the title of "An Act against intruding into Churches, without a legal Call and Admission thereto." Although the Church of Scotland appeared now to be fenced around with laws sufficient to protect her from the assaults of her enemies, the disposition of the party continued still to manifest itself in riots and tumults; particularly when the presbyterian ministers went about either to supply, or to plant vacant churches. This attack upon their ecclesiastical judicatories, gave rise to a new law in their favour, enacted in 1698, and intitled, "An Act for preventing Disorders in the supplying and planting of vacant Churches." By these decided measures, in concurrence with the known opinion of the English court, the designs of the party met with a visible discouragement; and they saw but little hope of breaking through the consti-

* Present State of Parties, p. 149.

tution, so long as William continued alive to protect the Establishment. Their efforts, therefore, grew more languid with time, and but few meeting-houses, for episcopal dissenters, were erected in this reign.

But the king was no sooner in his grave, than their hopes began to revive. The injudicious declaration by the new queen of her sectarian feelings, and her exclusive attachment to men of high and arbitrary principles, who were now advanced to the management of public affairs, inspired them with courage to renew their attacks upon the Scottish establishment. Their first step, says De Foe, was to make their court to the Church of England, calling themselves a sister-church, and making loud pretensions of being persecuted by the Presbyterians for adhering to their principles. Having applied to the English bishops for protection, with a promise to introduce the liturgy in Scotland, they received from the Bishop of London a large number of Common Prayer Books, as a charitable contribution, *ad propaganda fide*, to distribute amongst the poor people, whom they falsely represented as eagerly desirous of them; whereas, the utmost efforts of the lairds, who in some places favoured the liturgy, could not make it go down with the people. The correspondence they had now opened with their English friends, they were not long in turning to some account: For taking advantage of some expression in the queen's letter to the Privy Council of Scotland, in which she recommends a friendly correspondence between the Established Church and the episcopal Dissenters, they immediately laid their grievances before her majesty in a doleful picture of their condition, and petitioned her to dispense with the laws in their favour, by granting them a toleration. This was already enjoyed in an ample manner by those who had sworn allegiance to the government; and they miscalculated in supposing that the queen would countenance any extension of it to others. She, therefore, told them, "That

so long as they should behave peaceably and quietly in submitting to the government, they might be sure of her royal favour and protection." This answer, which appeared in the Gazette, in March, 1703, was a sore disappointment; but trusting to the good wishes of a princess whom they flattered as "a nursing-mother to the true Church of God," they resolved to set those laws at defiance, which she would not dispense with in their favour. In several places they entered by main force into vacant churches, took possession of the manses or parsonage houses, and continued to exercise their ministerial function without any legal qualification, and in open breach of the peace. As these things occurred in remote places of the kingdom, and under the connivance of the lairds and heritors, who were professed Jacobites, it was found very difficult to remove them, without recurring to the same violence which they had used in gaining possession. In the northern parts this was not to be done without a military force; so that many of the intruders retained possession of their spoils without disturbance. The resolution with which this business was managed by the episcopal party, was founded in a great measure upon the expected connivance of the queen; but complaint being made to the government, several proclamations were issued to restrain the grievance, but with little effect.*

Of the principles of the Scotch Episcopal Dissenters, and their little claims to any extraordinary indulgence, the following narrative, by a contemporary writer, will furnish a striking example. "In the midst of all these things, Dr. Paterson, the deprived Archbishop of Glasgow, came to London; as did also many others who had lived in exile in France, and other foreign countries, during the late king's time. Paterson entreated the queen that the revenues of the deprived bishops of Scotland might be bestowed upon

* Present State of Parties, p. 160—165.

the clergy who were ejected out of their livings; and made great complaint even of his own poverty, though it was known that he was in very easy circumstances. He also bewailed, and in very moving terms represented to the queen the distressed condition of many of them. The queen, who was apt to be affected with lamentations and tears, was now moved to compassion, and promised to do something for their relief. But the courtiers perceiving this, desired Paterson to mind his own business, and let other men's affairs alone; and bargained with him to allow him a yearly pension of four hundred pounds, if he would drop the cause of the other clergy. Upon this, as it was agreed, he went to the queen, and told her, how very averse those clergy were, and always would be, to her title; and that if she could not restrain them by force, it would be in vain to think of reconciling them by favours. He represented to her, also, how disaffected they were to her person and the constitution. "If," said he, "you assist them in any thing, you will so far assist your mortal enemies; for they look upon favours as injuries: For all which, if these my grey hairs and tears may not gain credit, I call God himself to witness the truth of it, and my own sincerity." And thus he contradicted all he had said of this class of men before. The queen was so alarmed at this speech of Paterson's, that she withheld her intended bounty. And the same late Archbishop of Glasgow, having, in addition to all this baseness, reported about town several idle stories of the pious Archbishop of Canterbury, was universally looked upon as an impudent and profligate man, and not only lost the esteem of the queen herself, but that of all good people."* Although there was too much truth in the statement of this Scotch Judas, yet, the man who could so coolly betray his brethren for filthy lucre, exalted himself to the highest post of infamy.

* Cunningham, i. p. 365, 6.

The proceedings of the Scotch Dissenters, in their attack upon the Establishment, met with the cordial co-operation of the Jacobites and high-flyers in England. As a set-off against the lawless outrages of their brethren, many stories of their persecution by the Presbyterians were trumped up and circulated in pamphlets, by Leslie and others, particularly in "The Wolf-Stripped," and in the Second Part of "Cassandra." In the contest between the two parties, stimulated on the one side by an alarm for the safety of the Establishment, and on the other by a desire of aggression, and both sufficiently inflamed with bigotry, it is not surprising if the Presbyterians sometimes transgressed the rules of justice in their conduct towards their prelatical brethren. The reasons they urged against a toleration, when the subject was debated at this time in the Scottish parliament, do them no credit; nor do they appear to have had any greater respect for the rights of conscience, as a matter of principle, than their former persecutors. Each party laid claim to the phantom of divine right, for a human fabrication, and contended for its paramount rule over the understandings of men; but the civil power very properly stepped in with a superior claim, to keep the peace between both parties.

It was in reference to the matter just detailed, that De Foe now published his pamphlet intitled "The Liberty of Episcopal Dissenters in Scotland truly stated. London: Printed in the year 1703." 4to. Having failed in his attempts to procure the work, the writer is unable to give an account of its contents; but this is the less to be regretted, as the foregoing extracts will put the reader in possession of De Foe's opinions upon the subject, and there will be other occasions of referring to them in the progress of the work. De Foe wrote largely upon Scotch affairs in his Reviews, particularly upon the contest between the opposing parties, which was carried on with great acrimony

through the whole of this reign. For, the sympathy that existed between the sovereign and the prelatical party gave a stimulus to the latter, which kept alive the spirit of encroachment, and rendered Scotland a scene of bigotry and contention, so long as there existed any hope of supplanting the Presbyterians. De Foe, who spent much of his time in that country, was an eye-witness to these disorders; and the accounts published by him from time to time, are deserving the attention of all who are desirous of gaining an accurate acquaintance with the politics of the period.

From Scotland, De Foe turned his attention to the state of the Protestants, and more particularly of the Dissenters in Ireland; where the same game of church-politics was in play, and with somewhat better success than in the sister kingdom.

Owing to reasons which it is not necessary now to inquire into, the Reformation made but slow progress in Ireland, so that the Roman Catholics have always constituted the great mass of the population of that country. In the contest of parties at the Revolution, it was naturally to be expected that they would adhere to a prince of their own faith, from whom alone they had a right to look for any favour to their religion; and their numbers enabled them to afford him effective support when he invaded Ireland for the purpose of recovering his crown. The sword of William proving victorious, James was obliged to abandon the country; but the strength of the Catholics enabling them to protract the war, they at length obtained a favourable capitulation at the treaty of Limerick. The wisdom of these concessions, although generally objected to by Protestants, was fully evinced by the tranquillity of Ireland during the remainder of William's reign.

The Protestants at this period, did not form one fourth of the population of Ireland; and of this small minority, at least

one half were Presbyterians. The zeal with which this party entered into the Revolution, and their important services in the reduction of Ireland being represented to William, obtained his favourable notice; insomuch, that he not only recommended them to the protection and support of his generals in that country, but issued an order for the payment of £1200 annually for the use of their ministers, to be discharged quarterly out of the revenues of the kingdom. By the death of William, the cause of liberty and charity, sustained an irreparable loss. One of the first consequences of that event, was the withdrawment of the late king's bounty to the Presbyterians; and it was quickly followed by an act that showed the implacable feelings of the party, to every thing just and liberal. Before the accession of Queen Anne, the animosity of parties in Ireland was confined exclusively to Protestants and Papists. Having interests in common, superior to their petty differences, Whigs and Tories, Churchmen and Dissenters, lived together in harmonious intercourse, and cultivated that spirit of forbearance and moderation, which appeared to be their only security against the common enemy. But the ministers of the queen having infused their bigotted policy into the councils of Ireland, this golden reign of charity was now to be closed for ever.

Whilst the Irish clergy were slumbering supinely upon the rich endowments of their church, or absenting themselves from their livings to pay court to the English ministers, the Catholics were unremitted in their endeavours to swell the number of their converts. To meet their exertions, and to counteract the danger of their political ascendancy, the Irish parliament thought it the wisest course to brace the church with new laws of a penal nature, against her opponents. For this purpose a bill was brought into the Commons, "To prevent the growth of Popery," containing provisions even of a severer nature than those which had passed in England about three years before. Such was the temper of the Irish

Parliament, that it quickly passed both houses; and upon the 23rd of November, 1703, the Commons, in testimony of their zeal, proceeded in a body to the Lord Lieutenant, with the heads of the Bill, entreating him to lay it before the queen, and to press the concurrence of her ministers. The Duke of Ormond found no difficulty in following up the measure with his recommendation; and it was returned from England with so much expedition as to create surprise in the whole body of Irish Protestants, who, as things then stood at court, scarcely expected its concurrence with the measure. But, when the bill came to be read in parliament, this feeling of satisfaction was turned into something beyond amazement; for it was found that the English ministers had inserted a new clause to oblige all Protestant Dissenters that held any place, office, or trust from the government, to conform to the Church of Ireland, and to receive the sacrament according to the usage thereof; otherwise, to be disabled or incapacitated for the service of their country. This was rather an odd method for weakening Popery, and securing the Protestant religion; and so it was thought by the Irish episcopalians, who were ready to do justice to the merits of the Dissenters, and expressed much concern at their invidious treatment. They remembered, that their united power had been already too weak to resist the Catholics, and thought it a most unseasonable policy to weaken the church by depriving her of the assistance of so large a body of Protestants. It was expected, that the clause would so alarm the Dissenters, as to occasion the loss of the bill. But this estimate of their conduct was ill-founded; for they acted now as their forefathers had done upon the passing of the Test Act in England; and foolishly acquiesced in the measure, in the vain hope of some concessions from a future parliament.*

* Life of Dr. Daniel Williams, p. 28—30.

There appears to have been much juggle in this, as well as in the former affair. The Papists were accused of sending money to England in order to stifle the bill, and the bribed courtiers are said to have represented its unfavourable consequences to the queen, as it respected the opinion of her Catholic allies; which probably had little weight with the ministers, when weighed in the scales of their bigotry. Most of our historians have given currency to the report, that they inserted the clause for the purpose of defeating the bill; but for this there appears to be no solid reason. The insertion of the clause is known to have been the act of the Earl of Rochester, who concerted it with the Earl of Nottingham, and both united to bring the queen into a measure which was in perfect accordance with her own feelings. The known sentiments of these two noblemen, leave no room to suspect their sincerity. Their rooted enmity to the Dissenters had been already displayed upon a variety of occasions; and they had little less aversion to the Catholics. The Church of England was the idol they worshipped. In their opinion she was the *beau ideal* of excellence; and their minds were not capacious enough to imagine that people could possess any civil rights, who did not fall down and worship the same deity. It was their object, therefore, to bring the Irish, as well as their neighbours, to the same uniform standard of belief, and to punish the non-compliers with civil pains and penalties.

A stranger to church politics would naturally suppose, that the men who affected so much concern for the souls of others, would not be negligent of their own. It is a fact, however, that the ministers of this pious queen were neither wiser nor better than other people. Some of them were mere profligates in their morals, and rarely attended the services of that church for which they were such zealous sticklers; whilst others ridiculed the truth of christianity altogether. Some other motive than religion must be searched for as the

prompter of all this church-zeal; but whether it was ambition or avarice, state-craft or priest-craft, it was alike dishonourable to all the parties. To persecute men for opinions, should have been left to a sect that possessed some better title to infallibility; but as the Church of England had wisely abstained from such a pretension, it was in her the heighth of arrogance and absurdity.

The wickedness of the act above-mentioned, and the glaring impolicy of dividing the Protestants in such a country as Ireland, produced loud murmurs both there and in England. Strong representations were made to the court upon the subject, by those who thought they had influence, but nothing could avail against the bigotry of the ministers. Not profiting by experience, it was in them an incurable disease. Feeling acutely upon a subject that had engaged so much of his attention, De Foe now published "The Parallel: or Persecution of Protestants the Shortest Way to prevent the Growth of Popery in Ireland. London: 1704." 4to.

Although the author's propensity to satire, led him to prefix an ironical title to the work, yet, it is written with great gravity and force of argument. Being published after the change in the ministry, De Foe ran no risk in prefixing to it a respectful dedication to the queen, in which he lays before her the hardship of Dissenters in being associated with Papists in their civil incapacities, and solicits her attention to their grievances. He enters upon the work by observing, that this Irish project was a part of the same system that was pursuing in England to ruin the Dissenters, and a warning of what they were to expect in time to come. "It seems somewhat hard," says he, "and savours of the most scandalous ingratitude, that the very people who drank deepest of the Popish fury, and were the most vigorous to show both their zeal and their courage in opposing tyranny and Popery; and on the foot of whose forwardness and valour, the Church of Ireland recovered herself from her low condition, should now be

requited with so injurious a treatment as to be linked with those very Papists they fought against." He considers it as no better than a fraud upon the world to conceal some base design, since none had been more zealous against Popery on all occasions, nor more ready to expose themselves for the defence of their country and the Protestant religion. Coupling this project with the Occasional Conformity Bill, which was at the same time upon the anvil in England, he speaks of them as parallel measures of the same party; and this will serve to explain the allusion in his title.

Without diving into the secret management of this affair, which would lead to many personal reflections that he was desirous of avoiding, De Foe proceeds to discuss the principles of the Bill, and its aspect upon the Protestant interest in Ireland. He begins with a brief historical detail of the oppression of the Protestants, which led them to propose several measures in parliament to repress the power of their rivals; but through some untoward circumstances, they had always miscarried. He then enters into a history of the present bill, which had promised auspiciously at its commencement, but terminated to the dissatisfaction of all parties in Ireland. When it was returned to the House of Commons, the Papists were heard by council against it, as a breach of the articles of Limerick; and the clause relating to the Dissenters was opposed by nearly a hundred members of the Established Church, who spoke of them with great tenderness, and dwelt upon the hardships of their case.

De Foe informs us, that the bill passed in its amended shape, with the reluctant assent of the Commons; and to mark their sentiments, a resolution was entered into the very next day, *nem. con.*, that a bill should be brought in to give the Dissenters the same toleration they enjoyed in England; but the approaching termination of the session defeated the design.

As a consequence of this act, says De Foe, "most of the

justices of the peace for the province of Ulster were put out, for we do not hear of above one or two that have qualified themselves; and for want of gentlemen that are qualified, they have been obliged to fill up the commission of the peace with clergymen." This province, he tells us, was inhabited chiefly by English and Scots, of whom above two-thirds were by computation, Protestant Dissenters; and he says, "It was thought strange, that in these counties they should be under ecclesiastical magistrates." He adds, with respect to Ireland in general, "It might be thought as strange that the ancient inhabitants, who spent their fortunes and hazarded their lives in defence of the whole Protestant interest, are now not thought worthy to govern what they so gallantly defended; but, as people not fit to be trusted with that in peace, which they saved in war, are laid by with contempt, and their places not being filled up with men of equal worth and figure, in part supplied with youths, new-comers, and clergymen; men of little estates, and consequently, having not so much obligation on them to be concerned for the good of the place, and having nothing to recommend them to the dignity of magistrates, but their going to church."

Since it is not usual amongst civilized nations to punish men, unless for the commission of some crime, De Foe proceeds to inquire into the behaviour of the Dissenters, for the purpose of ascertaining how far they have merited such treatment. And because it has been the custom of their enemies, upon all occasions, to rake into the events of the civil war for matter of crimination, he joins issue with them upon that subject, and shows that the Irish Presbyterians in general, fought under the standard of the king. For the proof of this, he produces a passage from the writings of Milton, who makes their conduct upon that occasion a matter of accusation against them; and he refers to the representation of the Presbytery at Belfast, dated February 15, 1659, in which the Presbyterians of the north of Ireland declare

against the proceedings of the English sectaries. In testimony of their services, De Foe informs us, that after the Restoration, King Charles II. granted them an annual bounty of eight hundred pounds; from all which he concludes, that to couple them with Papists in Acts of Security, is an inexcusable breach both of charity and good manners. Referring to their services in the late war with King James, he cites the unexceptionable testimony of Dr. King, bishop of Derry, in his work, intitled "The State of the Protestants in Ireland, under the late King James's Government," in which he eulogizes their charity to the ministers of the Establishment, and observes, that it *ought to be remembered to their honour.* (B) Upon which, De Foe remarks, that, "instead of being remembered to their honour, they have been ranked amongst the worst enemies to the church, and chained to a bill to prevent the growth of Popery." And he adds, "This will certainly be no encouragement to the Dissenters to join with their brethren the next time the Papists shall please to take arms and attempt their throats. Not but they may perhaps be fools enough, as they always were, to stand in the gap; but if ever the crisis should arise, would not all the world call them fools to do any thing again that merits *to be remembered to their honour?* If this be the Church's method of remembering favours, let them fight for them the next time, that dare trust their temper."

Amongst the evil consequences that were likely to result from the measure, De Foe observes, "That it is a great discouragement to the trade and prosperity of the kingdom, as it will occasion many wealthy families to abandon their country

(B) Having noticed the reasons of the Irish clergy for abandoning their cures, the bishop says, "I do confess that there was no reason to complain of the people's backwardness to maintain the clergy; on the contrary, they contributed to the utmost of their power, and made no distinction of sects, many Dissenters contributing liberally to this good end, which ought to be remembered to their honour." *King's State of the Protestants in Ireland,* p. 231.

where they are used so ill, and will be far from inviting other families to settle there in their room, where they are sure to be treated with jealousy and disrespect." He adds, "The advantage this will be to Scotland, whither the Dissenters in these parts must of course retreat, and where they talk of erecting and improving the English manufacture, as it is a subject which affords many speculations; so it can be no trespass upon reason to say, we believe those who contrived this law, will not like it the better for its being a means of enriching the Scots." There is reason for believing that the latter part of De Foe's conjecture has been realized; for the Scots could be under no temptation to leave a country where they were under no civil incapacity, to settle in another where they would be called to endure the rod of oppression. Had a more liberal policy prevailed in Ireland, it is probable that we should not now have to contend with so fearful a preponderancy of Catholics in that country.

If the voice of reason had any thing to do with the legislation of religion, this powerful appeal of our author in behalf of the rights of mankind, would have met with that attention which the weight of his argument so justly demanded. Strong sense and manly feeling pervade his pamphlet. He reasons with vigour and acuteness, and shatters to pieces an ecclesiastical despotism that had the argument of power only to support it. Nor is he less happy in applying his satirical powers to expose the folly of the measure. "Will any man in the world tell us," says he, "that to divide the Protestants is a way to prevent the further growth of Popery, when their united force is little enough to keep it down? This is like sinking the ship to drown the rats; or cutting off the foot to cure the corns. It would merit some satire, if the case was not really too sad and serious to bear a banter. If these are Church of England politics, for shame, gentlemen, never reproach the native

Irish for winking when they shoot; for never marksman took such aim as this: 'Tis such a *Tale of a Tub*, that the very Irish themselves must of necessity laugh at it; for what could be of more service to the Popish interest in that kingdom, than to see the Protestants thus divided, and persecuting each other?"

Note (A) referred to in page 177. The following lines by Mr. Wordsworth, upon the Persecution of the Scottish Covenanters," are so beautiful in themselves, and so appropriate to the foregoing subject, that the writer cannot deny himself the pleasure of filling up this vacant space by their insertion.

"When Alpine vales threw forth a suppliant cry,
The majesty of England interposed
And the sword stopped; the bleeding wounds were closed;
And faith preserved her ancient purity.
How little boots that precedent of good,
Scorned or forgotten, Thou can'st testify,
For England's shame, O sister realm! from wood,
Mountain, and moor, and crowded street, where lie
The headless martyrs of the Covenant,
Slain by compatriot-Protestants that draw
From councils senseless as intolerant
Their warrant. Bodies fall by wild sword-law;
But who would force the soul, tilts with a straw
Against a champion cased in adamant."*

* Ecclesiastical Sketches. Part iii. No. 6.

CHAPTER X.

Publication of the Review.—Origin of Newspapers.—State of the Periodical Press in the Reign of Charles II.—And after the Revolution.—Leading Papers in the reign of Queen Anne.—Politics of De Foe.—Nature of the Review.—Dr. Drake's Character of it.—Matters embraced in it.—General Neglect of Education.—Tavern Wits.—Johnson's Estimate of Periodical Writers.—Merits of the Review.—Account of its publication.—The Author's Statement of its Object.—Specimens of its Execution.—Power and Resources of France.—Rise of the French Greatness.—Despotic Character of the Old Monarchy.—Advantages and Disadvantages of Arbitrary Power.—Anecdote of Archbishop Cranmer.—De Foe vindicates himself against the News-writers.—His Remarks upon Duelling.—Proposes the Establishment of a Court of Honour.—Curious Record of Ancient Manners.—De Foe's Application of his Argument.—His Speculations upon Trade.—Is against the Prohibitory System.—Institution of the Scandal Club.—Subjects brought under its Notice.—De Foe's Precursors in this Department.—He vindicates the Design.—Threatened for his Freedoms.—Explanatory Defence.—Answer to Reproaches.—He publishes a Monthly Supplement.—Illustrations of this part of his Work.—His disinterested Character.—Discouragement of the Undertaking.—Proposal for continuing it.—Title and Preface to the First Volume.

1704.

THE foregoing pages sufficiently attest that the monotony and solitariness of a prison had but little influence in cramping the energies, or damping the ardour of De Foe; who had embarked in a cause he was well able to defend, and which no temptation could induce him to desert. Undaunted by persecution for imaginary crimes, which others were allowed to commit with impunity; and undismayed by

the terrors that surrounded him, his active mind remained unfettered, and like a watchful centinel, he took timely cognizance of the events of the day. But whilst he was providing ways and means for the cessation of national discord, it was necessary that he should not be inattentive to his own circumstances, which became absolutely ruined by his imprisonment.

It was probably with a view to retrieve his finances, that he now projected the REVIEW, a periodical paper that he continued several years, but during a portion of the time, with little or no pecuniary advantage.

The origin of periodical literature in this country is to be traced to the age of Elizabeth. England being threatened with a formidable invasion from Spain, the wise and prudent Burleigh projected "The English Mercurie," printed in the year 1588, with the design of conveying correct information to the people, and to relieve them from the danger of false reports, during the continuance of the boasted Spanish Armada in the English channel. They were all extraordinary gazettes, published from time to time, as that profound statesman judged needful, and less frequently as the danger abated. The appetite for news thus excited was not suffered to rest long without a further supply. Nathaniel Butter established the first weekly paper in August, 1622, entitled "The Certain Newes of this Present Week," and within a few years other journals were started; but they did not become numerous until the time of the civil wars. During that season of contention, each party had its Diurnals, its Mercuries, and its Intelligencers, which arose into being as fast as the events which occasioned them. The great news-writer of that period, was Marchmont Needham, of whose history and writings a large account is given by Anthony Wood. At the Restoration, he was discharged by the council of state from his post of public news-writer, Giles Dury and Henry Muddiman being appointed in his room. They

were authorised to publish their papers on Mondays and Thursdays, under the title of "The Parliamentary Intelligencer," and "Mercurius Publicus." In August, 1663, the noted Roger L'Estrange obtained the appointment of sole patentee for the publication of intelligence, under the designation of "Surveyor of the Imprimery and Printing Presses;" and he was at the same time constituted one of the licencers of the press. By virtue of his newly created office, he published two papers, entitled "The Intelligencer," and "The Newes," which appeared Mondays and Thursdays, until the beginning of January, 1665-6, when they were superseded by "The London Gazette," which became the property of Thomas Newcomb.

From this time to the Revolution, a variety of newspapers made their appearance, both for and against the court. The most ingenious of its opponents was "The Weekly Packet of Advice from Rome; or, the Popish Courant;" written by Henry Care, and continued for four years and a half, from December, 1678, to the 13th of July, 1683. A rival paper, written with much wit and humour, against Care, and other Whig writers, was "Heraclitus Ridens; or, a Discourse between Jest and Earnest; where many a true word is pleasantly spoken, in opposition to libellers against the government." The first number appeared February, 1681, and the last, August 22, 1682. Towards the end of Queen Anne's reign, when churchmen were desirous of rendering the Dissenters ridiculous, in order to crush them, this work was re-printed in two volumes, with a preface, full of misrepresentation and slander. The work itself contains some humorous songs and poems adapted to the loyalty of the times. Another contemporary paper, rendered notorious by its subserviency to the court, and the scurrility of its pages, was "The Observator in Dialogue. By Roger L'Estrange, Esq." It commenced April 13, 1681, and was continued until the 9th of March, 1687. Proper titles, prefaces, and

indexes were then added to the work, which forms three volumes in folio. It is a curious record of the manners and illiberal spirit of the times.

The events that followed the Revolution gave a new stimulus to inquiry, and multiplied the productions of the press; which also increased in value, and began to assume a more permanent form. Following the spirit of the age, Dunton projected "The Anthenian Gazetté; or, Casuistical Mercury. Resolving all the most nice and curious Questions proposed by the Ingenious." The first number was published March 17, 1691, and the last the 8th of February, 1696, which closed the nineteenth volume. Before this time, the public journals were either restricted to temporary politics, or to the angry discussion of controverted subjects of an ecclesiastical nature, and of little benefit to the reader. Dunton has the merit of first giving them a literary turn; but his paper excluded politics, and the quaintness of the style rendered it uninviting to his readers (c).

It was in the following reign that our periodical literature first acquired that polished style and intellectual vigour, which had so decided an influence in improving the taste and manners of the age. Upon this account, the reign of Queen Anne has been sometimes called the Augustan age; and it certainly abounded in men of genius and refined taste, in every department of learning. The writings of Swift, Steele, and Addison, who adorned that period, were long considered as the standards of good style; and although not the inventors of essay-writing, contributed to throw a charm over it, such as it had never before attained. Amongst their precursors in this line, there can be no question that

(c) Those who are desirous of becoming acquainted with the origin and progress of our periodical literature, may consult Mr. Chalmers's Life of Ruddiman, a very curious and elaborate work; also the fourth volume of Mr. Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, one of the most valuable contributions to the literature of our day.

De Foe is entitled to the foremost rank; and that in the graces of language he as far outstripped his contemporaries, as he was himself excelled by his successors.

Numerous as were the periodical writers in the early part of this reign, there are three only that challenge particular distinction: "The Observator," of which the first number was published April 1, 1702; "The Review," which commenced February 19, 1704; and "The Rehearsal," which appeared the 2d of August in the same year. The first and last of them were written by way of dialogue, and distinguished by their personalities. Tutchin, who wrote "The Observator," was the organ of the Whigs, as Leslie was of the high-flyers, and the writings of both are plentifully seasoned with the hostile language of party. De Foe's politics were those of the old Whig school, but he never ran the full race of party writers. In the late reign he was rather a Williamite, than either Whig or Tory; and in the present, his political connexions were chiefly amongst the new Whigs. Soon after he started the "Review," this party came into power, and received his zealous support, so long as its leaders continued true to the grand principles of civil and religious liberty; but when they sacrificed them to their ambition, he followed his own judgment in descanting upon affairs. It was his opinion, that government should be supported so far as is consistent with reason and sound policy, but no further; and it was upon this principle that he conducted his "Review."

This paper differed from its two rivals, in partaking more of the nature of an essay, which was better adapted for discussion. That it did not outlive its day, may be ascribed to the great proportion of temporary matter with which it abounded. There are to be found in its pages, however, many instructive pieces, of a moral and political nature, besides others devoted to amusement; and also some useful historical documents. A complete copy of the work is not known to be in existence.

It deserves to be remarked, that De Foe was the sole writer of the nine quarto volumes that compose the work; a prodigious undertaking for one man, especially when we consider his other numerous engagements of a literary nature.

A modern writer, speaking of this work, bestows upon it the following eulogium. "Contemporary with Leslie's Rehearsals, came forward, under a periodical dress, and of a kind far superior to anything which had hitherto appeared, the Review of Daniel De Foe, a man of undoubted genius, and who, deviating from the accustomed route, had chalked out a new path for himself. The chief topics were, as usual, news, foreign and domestic, and politics; to these, however, were added the various concerns of trade; and to render the undertaking more palatable and popular, he, with much judgment, instituted, what he termed, perhaps with no great propriety, a 'Scandal Club,' and whose amusement it was to agitate questions in divinity, morals, war, language, poetry, love, marriage, &c. The introduction of this club, and the subjects of its discussion, it is obvious, approximated the Review much nearer than any preceding work, to our first classical model." *

But the "Review" was not only superior to its predecessors in the graces of style, and in vigour of intellect, but also in the importance of its matter. To cultivate a taste for polite learning, and solid attainments; to diffuse information, and arouse a spirit of inquiry upon political, commercial and other subjects; to stimulate the improvement of females, as well by a more refined behaviour in the other sex, as by an increased attention to their education; and above all, to give a more decided tone to the moral and religious character of his readers, were the leading objects of De Foe, in the composition of the "Review." In the prosecution of his purpose, he often brings sound learning

* Drake's Essays on the Tatler, &c. i. 23, 24.

and chastened wit, to the aid of acute reasoning; and unites an accurate judgment to the effusions of a mind stored by various and extensive reading. His style is vigorous, shrewd, and often eloquent; and he has some passages that for pathos, dignity, and well-pointed satire, are not exceeded in the writings of his successors. For keenness of satire, tempered with liberality of feeling, and decorum of expression, his work had, probably, no equal.

One of the leading objects of the "Review," after the discussion of politics, was to correct the vices of the times. Throughout the work, the writer carries on an unsparing warfare against folly and vice, in all their forms and disguises. In forcible terms he inveighs against the fashionable practice of immoderate drinking, the idle propensity to swearing, the little regard that was paid to the marriage vow, and the loose conversation and habits of men in general. In well-pointed satire, he chastises the licentiousness of the stage; and condemns, in strong language, the barbarous practice of duelling. He has also some just remarks upon the rage for gambling speculations, which, in this reign, had risen to a great heighth. Upon all these subjects, he brings forth his capacious stores of wit and humour to the assistance of grave reasoning, adducing examples occasionally of the flagitious courses he condemns; but with sufficient delicacy to shew that his aim was the reformation, rather than the exposure, of the offender. No man paid a greater regard to those decencies of expression which have so much influence in regulating the intercourses of life; and although few individuals had greater provocation, from the coarse and illiberal writers of the day, yet he rarely suffers his temper to be disturbed, or departs from courtesy of language towards even his bitterest opponents. He tells us, he knew no such thing as personal prejudice against any man; but if he harboured the feeling, "he would never make it the tool of

public satire, and for that reason, has always omitted reflections where there might have been the least cause to suspect private provocation." (D)

At the time of which we are writing, general education was a thing wholly unknown, and the suggestion of it would have been treated with ridicule. Even in the middle classes, which form the connecting link in society, a well-educated man, unless he belonged to one of the learned professions, was a sort of phenomenon that served only for the gaze of the multitude; nor is it to be wondered at, when it is considered that the cultivation of a taste for literature, and mental improvement, was thought by many in the upper classes to be beneath the dignity of a gentleman. "That general knowledge which now circulates in common talk, was in his time rarely to be found. Men, not professing learning, were not ashamed of ignorance; and in the female world, any acquaintance with books was distinguished only to be censured."*

It is but little to the credit of those who carried away the learning and politeness of the age, that many of them were lax in their morals, and therefore but ill-qualified to become public censors. Those who affected the reputation of wits, and became desirous of associating with men of genius, were initiated at the tavern, where they often sat up late and revelled in riot and debauchery. It was by these censors of literature, to whom "a tavern chair was the throne of human

(D) In one of his "Reviews," he says, "In all my discourse I desire to be impartial. I shall be far from encouraging misrepresentations, slander, or false accounts of men's actions; I shun it with the utmost diligence myself, and cannot but think every man that is concerned in public matters, in printing or writing books or newspapers, ought to avoid it with the utmost care. And if the evil consequences of misrepresentation were to be calculated, it would make any wise man more cautious of what he says that way."—*Review*, v. 187.

* Johnson's Life of Addison.

felicity,"* that the fate of a publication was often decided; which occasioned Dennis to say, "Who that has common sense can forbear laughing, when he sees a parcel of fellows who call themselves wits, sit in combination round a coffee-table, as sharpers do round a hazard-table, to trick honest gentlemen into an approbation of their works, and bubble them of their understanding?"† The society of such men was but little calculated to improve or exalt the female character. Indeed, their wives were considered but little better than a higher sort of domestics, whose chief province was to administer to the gratification of their senses. Deserting their families, they consumed their evenings at the theatre and the tavern, where the charms of conversation were too often drowned in intemperance.(E)

He who labours to reform mankind, by devoting to that object the measure of ability which God has given to him, is more deserving of our esteem, than the man, however brilliant his talents, whose aim is only to corrupt; or who launches his powers of wit and raillery upon the wise and good, merely for the purpose of sport. The fashion of the times in this and former reigns, gave too much countenance to this mode of warfare; and it was heightened by the party animosities that were mixed up too closely with the literature of the period. The spirit that dictated this vicious taste was as formidable to the interests of learning,

* Hawkins' Life of Johnson, p. 87. † Steele's Correspondence, ii. 528.

(E) Taverns multiplied fast after the Restoration, being resorted to by the cavaliers, who testified their joy at that event, by an incessant round of intoxication. When the frenzy of the times abated, they became places for the transaction of business, and were frequented by conclaves of wits, who deserted their homes for the more unrestrained intercourse which they found at those places. These haunts of genius had prodigiously increased in the time of De Foe, who, writing in 1711, tells us, that so many punch-houses had been erected in London, "That more punch is now drank there in three months, than was drank in twenty-five years, in the time of King Charles, and King James II."—*Review*, vii. 322.

as it was detrimental to virtue, for all men are not proof against the battery of ridicule; and those who could not withstand it, were injured in their reputation, and had their usefulness destroyed at a blow. Wit is a dangerous weapon when wielded by bad men; and there were many such at this time, who united their forces to run down all who were opposed to them either in religion or politics.

When Johnson penned the following passage in his Life of Addison, he was probably unacquainted with De Foe's *Reviews*, or he would have admitted an exception in their favour. "Before the Tatler and Spectator," says he, "if the writers for the theatre are excepted, England had no masters of common life. No writers had yet undertaken to reform either the savageness of neglect, or the impertinence of civility; to shew when to speak, or to be silent; how to refuse, or how to comply, We had many books to teach us our more important duties, and to settle opinions in philosophy and politicks; but an *arbiter elegantiarum*, a judge of propriety, was yet wanting, who should survey the tract of daily conversation, and free it from thorns and prickles, which teaze the passer, though they do not wound him.—The Tatler and Spectator adjusted, like Casa, the unsettled practice of daily intercourse by propriety and politeness; and like La Bruyere, exhibited the characters and manners of the age." If De Foe fell short of these great models, he has at least the merit of leading a taste which was afterwards carried to greater perfection. Those who may choose to consult the early numbers of the *Review*, will find many hints thrown out by De Foe, that will remind them of Addison's celebrated paper in the *Tatler*, upon the distress of the news-writers. There is a striking coincidence in the sentiment and sarcastic style of the two writers.

Mr. Chalmers, writing upon the subject, says, with equal judgment and propriety, "It is easy to see that *The Review* pointed the way to the Tatlers, Spectators and, Guardians,

which may be allowed, however, to have treated these interesting topics with more delicacy of humour, more terseness of style, and greater depth of learning: yet has De Foe many passages, both of prose and poetry, which, for refinement of wit, neatness of expression, and efficacy of moral, would do honour to Steele or to Addison." * A later biographer of De Foe, has the following remarks in connexion with the subject. "That Daniel De Foe wanted many of those qualities, both of mind and manner, which fitted Steele and Addison to be the inimitable *arbitri elegantiarum* of English society, there can be no doubt: yet it is in vain to conceal that they profited very much by the inventive genius which preceded them in their favourite path; or to deny that there exist in the *Reviews* of De Foe, many, very many passages, which for wit, humour, originality of conception, justness of observation, keenness of satire, and for power, variety, nay even elegance of style, are scarcely inferior to the best specimens of their compositions. The political articles of the *Review*, however, were doubtless as much superior to the others in interest then, as they are inferior now." †

The first number of the REVIEW was published Saturday, February 19, 1704, (F) under the title of "A Weekly Review of the Affairs of France. Purged from the Errors and Partiality of News-writers and Petty-Statesmen, of all sides." It was at first a weekly publication, and continued so through eight numbers; after which, it was published twice a week, on Tuesdays and Saturdays. The original size was a whole sheet, or eight quarto pages; but after the fourth number, it was reduced to a half-sheet, the publishers having discovered that they were likely to become

* Life of De Foe, p. 22.

† Pref. to Cadell's ed. of Robinson Crusoe.

(F) This was 1703—4, and not 1704—5, as erroneously printed in Nichols's Anecdotes.

losers by the concern. "The necessities of the trade," say they, "compel us to this alteration; the publishers of this paper honestly declaring, that while they make it a whole sheet, they get nothing by it; and though the author is very free to give the world his labours for God's sake, they dont find it for their convenience to give their paper and print away." It seems to have been a joint property between the author, printer, and publisher. Before the alteration, the cheapness of the work, it being published at the low price of one penny, occasioned an imposition upon the public; for "the common sellers of News, from the unusual size, and general success of the paper, took occasion to impose upon the world, and sell it for two-pence." The paper was now printed in double columns, and by means of a smaller type and fuller page, as much matter was crowded into it as formerly. When it had been published about four months, the author was solicited to produce it three times a week; in reply to which, "he thanks the gentlemen for their approbation of his work, and is very willing to oblige them; but as he assures them again, he has all along wrote it without profit, or any manner of gain whatsoever; so he is not able to spare so much more of his time from other needful studies, as such a thing would oblige him to."

The opening number contains a sort of *exposé* of the author's design, which was primarily to present the public with a correct account of foreign events, in opposition to those writers who delude the world with false notions of things, and possess the nation with improbable and inconsistent stories of events that never take place. In the course of the work, he intended to give a complete history of France, and more particularly of the rise and fall of the Protestant religion in that kingdom; together with an authentic statement of the events of the war, with a view to undeceive those who were misled by the mis-statements of party writers, whose object was to undervalue the power

of France, because she was our enemy. "As to our brethren of the worshipful company of news-writers, Fellows of Scribblers' College, Students in Politics, and Professors of Contradiction, let them please to be careful not to impose absurdities and contradictions in their weekly papers, and they shall meet with no ill treatment: But if they tell a lye that a man may feel with his foot, and not only proclaim their folly but their knavery; if they banter religion, sport with things sacred, and dip their pens in blasphemy, our *Scandalous Club* is a new Corporation erected on purpose to make inquisition of such matters, and will treat them but scurvily as they deserve.—Not that the author thinks it worth while to take up your hours always to tell you how your pockets are picked, and your senses imposed upon; but only now and then, where 'tis a little grosser than ordinary. For the body of this paper, we shall endeavour to fill it with truth of fact, and not improper reflections. The stories we tell you shall be true, and our observations as near as we can, shall be just; and both shall study the reader's profit and diversion."

In order to give the reader an idea of the execution of the work, as well as to justify the character before given of it, we shall present him with a brief abstract of its contents; and the rather, as it is now so difficult to be met with.

A considerable portion of the first volume is devoted to foreign politics, more particularly the power and grandeur of the French monarchy, for the reduction of which, within reasonable limits, the principal nations of Europe were then embarked in an expensive war. In estimating the power and resources of France, which had attained their summit under Louis XIV., he was anxious to guard his countrymen against the folly of despising such an enemy. "Our ancient English historians," says he, "have always spoken of the French with a great deal of contempt, and the English nation has been apt enough to have very mean thoughts of them

from tradition, as an effeminate nation. This, I am apt to believe, proceeds from the uninterrupted victories which our ancestors obtained over them, in the reigns of our Edwards and Henrys. But, whatever the French were in former days, however effeminate their kings or people, it must be owned the case is altered; and we find them to our loss, a bold, adventurous, wise, politick, and martial people. Nor am I afraid that anybody shall suspect me of a design to magnify the enemy, in order to discourage friends, and undervalue my native country. They will make a much better improvement of my account of the French greatness, who quicken their preparations, and double their endeavours."

De Foe laboured to impress upon the ministers, who did not enter heartily into the war, that the French were by no means a contemptible enemy, but possessed a decided advantage over the confederate princes, in several particulars; as, the unanimity and policy of their councils, the exactness and punctual execution of their orders, the swiftness of their movements, and the fidelity of their officers. In exposing the folly of those news-writers, who were for undervaluing the French, he shrewdly observes, "That if they were so easy to be reduced, it must be a reproach to the Confederates, that they had not yet brought it to pass. But," says he, "'tis an allowed maxim in war, never to contemn the meanest adversary; and it must pass with me for a maxim in politics, not to despise the power that is so far from mean, that 'tis a match for half the world."

Our author traces the rise of the French greatness to the time of Henry IV., under Richlieu, Mazarine, and Colbert, who established a decided influence over the affairs of Europe. This, he tells us, was conspicuously the case in our own country, from the time of James I.; several of our princes having been brought over, by various methods, to the French interest, to the great damage of our trade, as well as of the people's morals. In awakening the attention of

the nation to this subject, he thought he had chosen a seasonable time, when we had to contend with the united forces of France and Spain; the latter raised from its feebleness and inactivity, by its recent political connexion.

The grandeur of the French monarchy, De Foe resolves, in a great measure, into the nature of its government; which leads him to descant upon the advantages and disadvantages of despotic power. "Where the glory of conquest and the laurels of the king are the design of government," he says, "arbitrary power is the most proper method in the world to bring it to pass. And this is the true character of the constitution of France. Its king is absolute; every man obeys without reserve; and he commands without restraint. If he oppresses, they submit; if he loosens the reins, and stoops to do them right, they bow at his feet, and thank him for the justice which in our country we command."

In tracing the causes of despotism in France, De Foe ascribes it in part to the absolute dependance of the nobility and gentry upon the favour of the prince. "This is such," says he, "and so generally influences all the great families in France, that for a man of quality to be out of the king's favour, is to be undone; he accounts himself and his family ruined, and has nothing left him to do, but by the interest of friends, and with the greatest submission, to regain his favour, or else to go home and hang himself. I mean by this, that it is accounted the ruin of a man's fortune, and the destruction of his family, to lose his interest at court. The reason is plain: Either the army, the revenue, the church, or the law, one time or other, employs all the gentlemen in the nation. There is not a family but either has been, or is expecting to be employed and advanced, and to make their fortunes from the public employments. 'Tis confessed, the gentry of France are very numerous; but whoever pleases to look into the infinite number of employ-

ments in that kingdom, will not think it strange that all the families of any consideration, are more or less employed. There are above thirty thousand men employed in the king's revenue; three hundred thousand soldiers, and one hundred and fifty ships, besides gallies and marine regiments to officer; and add to these, the intendants of provinces, governors of towns, and the like: Also, the officers of the parliaments, and the prodigious number of civil employments filled by the numerous clergy, consisting of above one hundred thousand, most of whom are of the gentry, and are constantly watching the court as the heaven they look after for their happiness." De Foe enlarges his argument by noticing the facility with which soldiers are procured for the army, and the summary method of raising supplies; and observes, upon the whole, "What may not that monarch do who has the bodies of the poor, the purses of the rich, and the lands of his nobility at his absolute command?" Such was the state of France before the revolution; and it is still applicable to many of the European governments.

Amidst many acute remarks upon the subject, De Foe says, "I am far from giving arbitrary power a character to recommend it to the subject. But, without doubt, that prince whose designs centre in his own projects, in enlarging his dominions, and in the conquest of his neighbours, obtains his end most effectually by a despotic dominion over his subjects; whereby he obliges them, without reserve, to comply with whatever he demands, to give what he asks, to go where he sends, and to do what he directs. When a prince must court his subjects to give him leave to raise an army, and when that's done, tell him when he must disband it; that, if he wants money, must assemble the states of his country, and not only give them good words to get it, and tell them what it is for, but give them an account how it is expended before he calls for more; the subjects, in such a

country, are certainly happy in having their property and privileges secured: but, if I were of his privy-council, I would advise such a prince to content himself within the compass of his own government, and never think of invading his neighbours, or increasing his dominions. For, subjects, who stipulate with their princes, and make conditions of government, who claim to be governed by laws, and make those laws themselves; who need not pay their money but when they see cause, and may refuse to pay it, when demanded without their consent; such subjects will never empty their purses upon foreign wars for enlarging the glory of their sovereign. If such people are free to fight or pay, it is always for their own defence and security; not for the conquests and glories of their prince."

De Foe continues, "Whoever reads the character of arbitrary power, may make a very good improvement of it to the advantage of the English constitution, which is so fenced and secured by the laws, and by popular right, that the liberties of the nation are in a manner impregnable. What, though our princes are the least qualified for glory, and for the laurels of the conqueror; the fine words which custom puts upon the invaders of their neighbours, the leaf-gold which the devil has laid over the back-side of ambition to make it glitter to the world, to wheedle princes into crimes, and subjects into folly! If our princes are less able to encroach upon their neighbours by reason of their limitations, they are at the same time better qualified to preserve what they enjoy from the violence of others. Absolute despotic power makes great names, but legal power makes great nations. If any man asks me, what are the benefits of absolute monarchy to the subject? I know but two; poverty and subjection."

The sturdy nature of the English character, even in the most despotic period of our history, is finely illustrated by De Foe, in an anecdote of Archbishop Cranmer. "If a

King of England," says he, "should, though for any real offence, send his orders to a subject, though of the meanest sort, to be gone, and quit the country, he would not stir a foot; and 'tis forty to one but he would have manners little enough to tell him so in plain English. If the message was to a man of quality, his reply would be more courteous, but equally firm. We have a very handsome instance of this in Archbishop Cranmer, in the days of King Henry VIII., when, for some speech made in the House of Lords, his Majesty commanded him out of the House, which he very modestly and humbly, yet boldly refused to do, claiming his privilege of peerage, and liberty of speech by right of the constitution; which the king afterwards allowed to be just, when his anger was over."

In the prosecution of this part of his design, De Foe was traduced by the news-writers, as an enemy to his country. "Such is the partiality of men's humours," says he, "that I must not attempt to say any thing that is well of an enemy, without a previous assurance that I am not going over to this party." Their calumnies he bore with composure; for he adds, "It no way disturbs me to hear myself called a Jacobite, a Frenchman, and sometimes a Papist; one that exposes the nakedness of the confederates, betrays the weakness of our friends, and the like. But it is a singular satisfaction to me that I can yet hear nobody contradict it as to truth of fact, or charge me with falsehood and partiality; this, together with the usefulness of my design, satisfies me also with respect to the meanness of the manner. And, though it may seem below the dignity of an historian thus to speak, yet this, and a thousand lower steps I am ready to take, if the end and design of this undertaking may be the better pursued, viz. to open the eyes of mankind to the true interest of their native country." In another place, he says, "Those who pretend to charge me with favouring the French interest,

and being bought and bribed with French money, would do well to go into France, and present themselves to the French King as the authors of the *Review*, and plead the merit of it: I freely give them liberty to use my name, and am satisfied his majesty will reward them with the wheel or the halter."

In his zeal for the improvement of our national manners. De Foe occupies several papers in exposing the absurd and barbarous practice of duelling. He dwells with evident pleasure upon its suppression in France, through the vigorous interference of the monarch, who, although an enemy, may in this particular be well proposed as an example for our imitation. "I need not have given the reader the trouble of examining the nature of this crime," says he, "nor the mistaken point of honour, upon which so many noble families in that kingdom, almost on every occasion, sacrificed the best and bravest of their blood. This unhappy temper had prevailed to such an intolerable excess, that, if we may believe the memoirs of those times, above four hundred gentlemen were killed, in this manner, by the sword of mistaken gallantry, in one year; many of whom fell by the hands of their dearest friends, and sometimes of their nearest relatives. The first considerable action his most christian majesty did, after his entering upon the administration, was to publish an edict against duelling, in which he made it death without mercy, to give or accept a challenge; and he took a solemn oath on the Evangelists, in the presence of the Cardinal and Archbishop of Paris, that whether principal or second, he would never grant his pardon to any one concerned in a duel, even though he were a prince of the blood, and whether there was any murder committed or not. This oath his majesty has observed with so much exactness, as to reject the intercession of the greatest princes, and even the dispensation of the Pope, in some cases that have since happened." De Foe observes, that if the

English are not so much addicted to this folly as the French, they nevertheless furnish some examples of the mischief, "which have left the black remembrance of them in the memories of some of our best families."

In order to put a stop to so unchristian a method of settling disputes, De Foe recommends the establishment of a Court of Honour, similar to that which had been instituted in France, by Louis XIV., who had effectually cured the evil, by the severity and impartiality of his decisions. The court alluded to, was composed of the Marshals of France, who had a commission for the purpose, without appeal, and whose business it was to judge upon points of honour, and award suitable reparation to the injured party. By this process, no one suffered in his reputation for refusing a challenge, and no wise man was under the temptation to offer one. The governors of provinces, and principal magistrates had a power delegated to them by the marshals, to hear and determine cases in their absence; and if the parties found themselves aggrieved, an appeal lay to them. De Foe relates several anecdotes, in order to show the efficacy of the measure, and says, "The king had so far conquered this destructive humour in his subjects, that you don't hear of a duel in France from one year's end to another." This was entirely accomplished by his rigid adherence to his purpose; for his predecessor, Louis XIII., issued some severe edicts against duelling; but the sentences being often remitted, through the intercession of friends, occasioned them to be little regarded. (F)

The Greeks and Romans found out the path to glory

(F) An Appendix to the Review, of fourteen pages, contains an abstract of the French king's edict, given at St. Germain's, in the month of August, 1679. De Foe introduces it by saying, "I cannot but wish something like this practised by a legal authority in England, when we see but this very week, two gentlemen murdered in duels, and the murtherers not yet brought to justice."

without duelling. Rollin observes, "That barbarous custom of killing one another, now called greatness of soul, was unknown to those famous conquerors: they kept their hatred and resentment for the enemies of the state, and contended only for glory and virtue with their fellow-citizens." The custom appears to have originated in a mistaken principle of religion, and was supposed to be a test of the guilt or innocence of the parties: as such, the prayers of the church were often invoked by the combatants. Of this, a curious instance occurred in the case of an English baron, in the year 1352. Henry, Duke of Lancaster, having been informed of some reproachful words that had been uttered against him by the Duke of Brunswick, resolved to sail over to France for the purpose of fighting him; but before he committed his innocence to the trial of the sword, he desired the bishops of England to assist him with their prayers, and to recommend him, and his cause, to the mercy of God. Accordingly, Radulph de Salopia, bishop of Bath and Wells, enjoined all the clergy of his diocese to exhort the people in their several cures, every Sunday and holiday, with all humility and devotion, to beg of God, who is the giver of victory, that he would appear for the honour of his holy name, and the clearing the truth of the duke, and the glory of the English nation, by giving success to his arms. The original latin document is preserved in the archives of the see, and may be found in the bishop's register.*

The extreme folly of this barbarous custom, is finely depicted by De Foe in the following passage: "To me there seems but the difference of one minute circumstance between this method of duelling, and the Italian custom of assassination; and the reason seems to lie against the former: for, if a man has so affronted me that I think he ought to die for it, where is the sense of my laying him an even wager,

* Comber's Short Discourse against Duels.

whether he shall have his throat cut that has offered me an injury, or I that have received it? But, if the case were stated fairly, I ought first to have reparation for the injury, and then fighting is more upon the square. Fighting a duel is just throwing the dice for a man's life, and 'tis not a great deal of odds that both shall fall. Now, to me there seems no manner of correspondence between the thing and the cause of it. If both had forfeited their lives to the law, and one might have been spared, there had been some reason to try who should be the man; but in this case, I give a man two opportunities to mischief me against my one—the affront is the first, and an even chance for my life is the second."

De Foe employs several of the latter numbers of the volume upon the concerns of trade; "A thing," says he, "of such consequence, so much pretended to, and so little understood, that nothing could be more profitable to the reader, more advantageous to the public, or more suitable to the greatness of this undertaking." He enters largely upon the state of our trade with France, which, before the Revolution was greatly against us, but by wise management was afterwards improved to our advantage. This was occasioned partly by the great influx of French Refugees, who came hither for the free exercise of their religion, and turned their skill in the manufacture of various articles to the general account. With a comprehensive knowledge of the affairs of trade, and exquisite skill in the management of his subject, our author descants upon prohibitory laws, the export of bullion, foreign exchanges, the rate of wages, and such other intricate points as arise out of, and regulate our intercourse with other nations. With admirable irony he exposes the folly of over-legislation in matters of trade, and of giving that advantage to a foreign market, which, if it were not for impolitic restrictions, might be reserved to ourselves. "If you vex me I'll eat no dinner, said I, when I was a little boy, till my mother taught me to

be wiser, by letting me stay till I was hungry;" a simile which he applies to the short-sighted policy of those who thought to plague the enemy, but really injured themselves. "I could run this on to some diverting particulars," says he, "and please the reader with hearing the wise reasons some, who think themselves great men, give for a prohibition of trade; but the sense of it is so small, and would go so near to drawing the picture of their persons, that I forbear." De Foe tells us, that he had learnt, by experience, what it was to teach his superiors; but he claimed a right, as an English freeholder, to express his opinion, and offers to execute, gratuitously, any scheme that he had proposed for the public service. He adds, "He that thinks me putting in for a great place, is mistaken: I have neither will, merit, nor expectation that way; but I wish and pray that the eyes of our rulers may be opened to see into these bottomless pits of errors and public mistakes, and believe 'tis more likely to be so now than ever." When De Foe penned this, the hot men had been turned out of the administration.

De Foe, who was acquainted with men as well as books, early foresaw that discussions upon trade and politics, however useful and important, would not of themselves be sufficiently attractive to keep up the attention of the readers. He therefore determined, as a relief to these grave subjects, to reserve a corner of his paper for their amusement. Under the title of "*Mercure Scandale*; or, Advice from the Scandalous Club," he adopted the fiction of a society, whose business was to handle questions in divinity and morals; in love, poetry, and grammar; and, in general, upon whatever concerned the improvement of the national manners. Here the love-sick maid, and the despairing lover; the querulous wife, and the jealous husband; the man of gallantry, and the sedate housewife; in short, all ages, ranks, and professions, might find something to excite their curiosity, and lead their judgment. De Foe possessed the art of

rendering his work popular by the choice of his subjects; and he enlivens and illustrates them by a variety of apt stories, invented for the purpose. In reference to this part of his design, he says, "The custom of the ancients in writing fables is my very laudable pattern for this; and my firm resolution in all I write, is to exalt virtue, expose vice, promote truth, and help men to serious reflection: This is my first moving cause, and last directing end."

It was not long before the society found much business upon its hands, which obliged the author to enlarge his original design; but he still continued the sole mover of all its proceedings. "This society," he observes, "having been designed for examining and censuring things scandalous and openly deserving of reproof, has insensibly been drawn into the difficult, nice, and unsatisfying work of resolving doubts, answering questions, and deciding controversies; things absolutely remote and foreign to the first design. And as, perhaps, the hand that operates in this work, being allegorically, rather than significantly, called a society, may be, for sundry reasons, incapable of performance in so vast a variety as is like to come before him; so he thinks it no injury to the undertaking to let the world know, they must be content to be answered in the best manner he can."

The French title adopted by De Foe, was not a new one, having previously appeared in the country from whose language it was taken. In the fifteenth century, one John de Troyes, Register of the Town-house, in Paris, composed a work which afterwards appeared in English, under the title of "The Secret History of Louis XI., King of France; otherwise, called 'The Scandalous Chronicle.' Giving an Historical and Chronological Account of several remarkable Accidents and Adventures, that happened in France, and other neighbouring States and Kingdoms, from the year 1460 to 1483, inclusively." It was translated by Mr. Uvedale, and annexed to his "Memoirs of Philip de Comines,"

in 2 vols. 8vo. 1723. Another work, with a similar title, was also published at Paris, about the year 1681; but making too free with persons in power, it was ordered to be suppressed. De Foe's title for this part of his work was, perhaps, not happily chosen; neither was the design itself altogether new, as he himself acknowledges. Being accused of imitating the plan of Henry Care, who, in his "Weekly Packet of Advice from Rome," had a "Courant," at the end of every paper, he says, "Such gentlemen do not tell us whether that work was valuable or no; they neither give their judgment on the design, nor on the performance. If that was a useful work, well designed, and more happily performed than this author will pretend to, then these gentlemen say nothing to his disparagement; since all the wit of mankind seems now to be composed but of imitations, and there is nothing new under the sun. If they think that work mean, and the performance dull, which the present scarcity and value of those collections plainly contradict, it remains for them to tell us, where the meannesses are, and where the dullness of that author appears? It is true, he had his imperfections; and the fury of the times, the poverty of circumstances, and the unhappy love of his bottle, reduced him too low for a man of his capacity. But, as in all the parts of his design, and the length of his happy performance, he discovered such a spirit, such learning, such strength of reason, and such a sublime fancy, as in which the author of this cannot esteem himself worthy to carry his books after him; so he shall always value this undertaking so much the more, as it resembles his; and wishes, for the sake of the reader, as well as himself, he could come near him in the performance."

His title being objected to by many persons, De Foe dropped the French part of it in his eighteenth number, but continued the remainder to the end of the volume. One part

of his design was to correct the blunders of other news-writers, by which he brought a host of hornets about his ears; but he persevered with inflexible courage, laughing at his opponents, and setting at defiance the tongue of scandal. But his principal object was to improve the manners, and reform the vicious practices of the age. In the prosecution of his purpose he tells us, "He never gave himself the liberty to publish the least syllable of any person from private resentment; but has chosen to bear the greatest insults and injuries, rather than concern his own quarrels in his public observations." De Foe was not so little conversant with the world, as to suppose that his labours would pass free from censure. "I am told a very strange piece of news of the *Review* lately," says he, "namely, that it does not please every body. I never set up for a degree of understanding above other people, but, without vanity, I hope I may say, I never merited to be thought so much a coxcomb as to expect it would. If I write instructive truth, I am sure to please wise men; and I have been always unconcerned for the opinion of the rest."

It was not to be expected that a work of so multifarious a nature, would pass free from censure, nor that the author should escape the reproaches of those who were stung by his reproof. Torrents of abuse and slander now poured upon him from the press, and he was even threatened with personal violence. But the nature of these attacks, and the manner in which he met them, will be best explained in his own words.

"The reputation of our society having been lately reflected on by sundry persons, and on different occasions, they have been taken up very much in debating whether they should continue their endeavours against the follies of the times; or lay down their arms, and let all men alone to be as vicious, and to write as much nonsense as they

please. Some that said they were friends to the author, alleged he exposed himself too much, and ought to expect Sir William Coventry's fate, that is, have his nose slit; representing strange things from the resentments of the persons concerned, and bid him have a care of himself. Others told the society, that no man ought to take upon him public reproofs, or point to other men's faults, unless he was sure he had none of his own. A third sort told them, it was not just to expose men for their crimes, though they were real; that the laws were sufficient to punish in such cases; and that no man had any thing to do with it: also, that at this rate, no man would keep him company.

"Upon a serious debate of these matters, the society called for the books, and reviewed the *Review*. They there found it laid down in the first proposal, that the author had considered the hazard of telling a vicious age their scandalous crimes, and had declared that he would treat vice and vicious actions with the utmost severity; and that therefore all people were fairly prepared to expect it. As to the danger, the author professes himself perfectly unconcerned about it, and questions not but his hands will, according to their duty, defend his nose. He knows no man particularly concerned but the guilty, and if any such thinks himself plainly pointed at, and is resolved to add one villany to another, he is welcome to make the attempt at his peril. And yet, the author affirms, he has all along rather exposed the crime than the person; and if any author has afterwards saddled the man's back with the crime, and told the world who he is, he ought first to be assured that he was the man intended, or else, he fathers the crime of scandalizing upon himself. The author cannot but think it unfair that when he tells the world a story, another should pretend to tell them his meaning. And, as he shall always avoid fixing reproaches

upon persons or families, with the same caution as he would be treated himself, especially in case of common slips in men's morals, which all are equally subject to, and himself as much as another; yet, with submission, he thinks, there are some cases so notorious, and some value themselves so much upon the honour of out-sinning their neighbours, that they really claim no quarter. However, he has yet pointed out no man so plain, that anything but his own guilt can tell 'tis he. The author is ready to ask any man's pardon for a real offence, and scorns to do it where there is none. He declares, he endeavours to tell his tale so as to expose the crime, and not the person; but if people will be guessing at folks, and then tell him by inuendo, they are sure they hit right; the injustice lies at their door, not at the author's. He is sorry he gives anybody offence; but as exposing scandalous and unusual follies is the only occasion, he is very easy, and sees no reason why a wise man should be disturbed at it."

To the objection, That no man ought to take upon him to point out the faults of others, unless he is sure he has none of his own, De Foe archly replies, "If this were true, the Lord have mercy upon us; there is all our clergy unchurched, and their mouths stopped at a blow. The stocks and whipping-post may serve to make bonfires for joy; all our justices of the peace may lay down their commissions, and magistracy will die of a convulsion. In short, this is a commonwealth principle with a vengeance; for there must be no king in Israel, but every man may do what seems good in his own eyes. As for the author, he owns himself in the rank of those who have most infirmities, and where he is guilty, shall be freer to acknowledge than any reasonable man to accuse; but what is this to the purpose? For, as recrimination is the poorest defence any man can make, so it is no manner of answer to the matter: and the author challenges all the world to charge him either with error in history,

mistake in geography, partiality in parties, or falsity in fact. As for his style, he refers it to censure."

His private character having been assailed by various persons, for the purpose of cloaking their own faults, he makes the following triumphant defence of himself. "When the author of this paper first undertook it, he was not so void of brains, though he pretends to no extraordinary store, as not to foresee that all the guilty part of the town would clamour and throw dirt at him. And he cannot but take it as a proof of the operation, his physic has upon the age, and of the justice of his censures, that the attempts either to answer his arguments, refute his reasonings, or lessen the force of his conclusions, are left off, and the enemy fly to the scandalous, self-condemning shift of recrimination. And yet, even in this, the author declares himself ready for them; and therefore the writer of the following verses need have added no threatenings to have introduced them in this paper.

"Thou daring poet of this foppish age,
Thou, who art full of envy, spight, and rage;
Thou, who at taverns spend'st both day and night,
In wine and women placest thy delight;
Canst thou e'er think thy satyrs will reform,
When thou that writes, e'en what thou writ'st dost scorn!
For, like examples, precepts ne'er can move,
While this we hate, with that we are in love.
But if thou still will vent thy spleen and spight,
If thou wilt yet continue more to write;
Let all thy precepts from examples flow,
For those that precepts give, example ought to show."

"To this the author readily answers, he grants the truth of what is asserted in the last line, 'That those who precepts give, example ought to show.' And, therefore, though he thinks it hard to force him to be his own advocate, and as unjust to force him to print an accusation upon himself, yet he does it with the greater freedom, by how much he believes all the world that knows him at all, will acquit him of the

charge. Had the poet in his lines, called him thief, gamester, highwayman, murtherer, coiner, clipper, or Mahometan, there had been some difficulty to have come at the negative; but as the very article in which even the devil never had the folly to tempt him, as not being the sin of his inclination, he can't think he has any hand in the accusation. The devil would certainly have had more wit with his malice. Therefore, he takes the freedom to boast a little in this point, and to join issue with his accuser in the very crimes charged upon him.

"And first, as to drunkenness, or delighting in wine, which he takes to be all one; he challenges the whole race of mankind to name the time, place, or circumstance, when, where, or how he was guilty. And, though he has very little money to spare, and less reason to part with it, he hereby obliges himself to pay fifty pounds to any man that can say, he ever saw him in the least disordered with drink, ever drink immoderately, inclined to do so, or promoting it in others. With what face this false accuser can reproach him with it, he knows not, and thinks a man that can dare to appear on the stage with such a palpable premeditated slander, ought to obtain no credit in any thing he shall suggest after it; since 'tis an old rule, and as common as the accidence,

> "'Tis a just debt to every liar due,
> Never to be believ'd when he speaks true."

"As to women, the author professes himself a lover of the sex, in the station in which God and nature have placed them. There he esteems them as the second glory of the creation, and a public blessing bestowed on God's principal creature man, for his assistance, comfort, and delight. As to the vice, he protests to contemn it, and the trifle called pleasure in it to be not worth the repentance; and frankly defies all the world to bring fair proof of his being guilty

that way. As to slander and reproach; malice always goes with its mouth open, and who can shut it? A wise man's satisfaction is his own innocence, and then he learns to turn a deaf ear to the hissings of the world. Suggestion may blast any man; and they that will accuse by hearsay and supposition, deserve no regard, nor will ever move me so much as to reply.

"But, to give a fuller answer to all this than the justest vindication of fact can be; what is all personal guilt to matter of truth, if the charge aginst thee, O Drunkard, be true? If I may not accuse because I am a sinner; no more may'st thou recriminate, till thou art reformed. Thou wert altogether born in sin, said the elders to the blind man cured by our Saviour, and dost thou teach us? and yet, all the poor man said to them was true. I freely own, though not guilty in the particulars charged on me, that of sins and misfortunes no man has more: That I never see a criminal go to the gallows, but I most seriously reflect I have as much deserved to go there as he, having been an ungrateful, unthankful dog, to a bountiful beneficent Creator; a rebel to his sacred commands; a resister of his sovereign grace; and a rejecter of a bleeding Saviour. And who am I that I should defend myself as innocent? But, as to drunkenness, whoring, swearing, or any of the crimes which our Society pretends to detest, I, without pride or vanity, boast myself clear, and am bold to say, all the world cannot prove me guilty." *

The papers relating to this part of the work having accumulated greatly upon his hands, he was under the necessity of throwing part of them into a monthly supplement, which commenced with October. There are five of them pertaining to this volume, containing together, 140 pages. The *Review*,

* Review, i. 382, 3.

for September 23, contains the following announcement of this design:

"The Society having an unusual number of cases before them, the relation whereof, though very entertaining and significant, is by far too long to come into these papers, unless they should so far intrench upon the historical part as to break in upon the main and most material design of the author, have thought fit to give notice, that once every month there will be printed a Supplement, or Journal of the proceedings of the Society, in which all such letters, poems, and particulars, as the learned and ingenious please to furnish them with, shall find a place, and be inserted in their order; with the resolutions and observations of the Society. This supplement will be so ordered, as to come in at the end of every volume of the *Reviews*; and may, for the satisfaction of those gentlemen that have made collections, be bound up with them. We hope this will satisfy those who have thought themselves neglected, by their papers and letters having lain long by, without due notice; the society having near a hundred cases before them, which they have not been able to publish. The first supplement being now in the press, all gentlemen who think they have any thing worth publication, are desired to send it before Monday, the second of October, when the first is designed to appear."

In order to give the reader some idea of the nature of this part of De Foe's performance, it may not be improper to insert a specimen or two; but to avoid interruption to the narrative, they shall be thrown into a note. (G)

(G) Example 1. Reproof of a bad husband.—"A gentleman came with a great equipage and a fine coach to the Society, and desired to be heard. He told them a long story of his wife, how ill-natured, how sullen, how unkind, and abundance of things he reckoned up, that, in short, made his life very uncomfortable, his family very unquiet, and the like. The Society asked him several questions about his wife; as whether she was immodest, a thief, a slut, a scold, a drunkard, a gossip; to which he severally answered,

De Foe repeatedly declares, that he reaped little or no pecuniary advantage from his *Review*. "The author of this paper," says he, "has pretended to write thus, not for his private advantage, but for the public service. He thought, as before, the best thing he could do, at a time when we are all embarked in the ship of the state, was to examine, describe, and expose the power, the designs, the growth and increase of our enemies." His candour, however, was but little protection to him against the misrepresentations of his enemies. In answer to a letter, questioning the generosity

no. But still she was an ill-wife, and he could not tell what to do with her. At last, one of the Society, begging his pardon for the question, asked him if his worship was a good husband? At which, being a little surprised, he could not tell what to say. Whereupon the club came to these resolves: 1. That most women that are bad wives, are made so by bad husbands. 2. That this Society will hear no complaints against a virtuous bad wife, from a vicious good husband. 3. He that has a bad wife, and can't find the reason of it in her, 'tis ten to one but he finds it in himself. 4. They advised the gentleman to go home, reform himself, and become a good husband for three months; and, if that did not cure his wife, they would proceed against her as they should find cause."—*Review*, i. 184.

Example 2. Ignorance and dishonesty reproved.—"The Society received a complaint, lately, against a certain magistrate, for that he, having been made a trustee for some money, appropriated to better uses, had misapplied it, and bestowed a large sum of it in the laudable practice of eating and drinking, *Anglicé*, feasting and drunkenness. Mr. Mayor appeared to the charge, but put the Society to an unusual trouble to make him understand the meaning of the word *appropriate;* which, as he said, was not in use in his country. At last, when he perceived himself a little laughed at, his worship told them plainly, they used him very ill; that he lived in a great trading city, and such barbarous words were not made use of among them; that they generally spoke plain English among the weavers of N——h, and desired they would talk no Latin to him, as, if they did, he would not answer them. At last, having made his worship understand the word, and desired him to answer to the matter, he told them he would justify; that when money was left by will to any use, though never so pious and charitable, it was lawful to spend it in feasting and trifling, and told them he would be tried by the Chamber of London. The man having thus appealed from the jurisdiction of the Society to a higher authority, they referred the matter to the proper judges, and sent him to Guildhall."—*Review*, i. 239.

of his motives, he says, "As for what has been said in the *Review*, he declares again, and thinks he never did it without good reason, that he never directly or indirectly received, gained, had, or bargained to receive, any consideration, price, or profit, for writing any part of the work. In short, that he never got a farthing for it; and the other persons concerned will at any time testify it for him. As to his circumstances bearing it, the gentleman might have spared insulting him on that head; since, to tell him how they were reduced, might, perhaps, reflect more on the public, than on himself: But, be they what they will, he never expects to raise them by writing a penny paper; but leaves that to time and God's providence, choosing rather to suffer than complain."

The little encouragement that had been hitherto afforded to the work, inclined the author to drop it with the present volume. From this he was dissuaded by several of his friends. In answer to some letters that he had received upon the subject, he says, "He thinks himself obliged to the gentlemen, whether it comes to any thing or no, and gives them for answer, he has gratis, without reward, profit, or promise of any advantage, freely wrote this paper a whole year. His encouragement has been to see wise men approve it: but, as neither his own affairs permit him to spare so much time as is now required, more than at first, nor can the sale of so small a paper make the publisher able to allow what may be encouraging and suitable to the trouble, he therefore concluded to lay it down. But, if those gentlemen who are pleased so much to value his performance above its merit, as to press him to the continuing it, will either send him their designed proposal to *Mr. Matthews*, or give him a meeting, he professes himself willing to oblige them; and will convince them that he is far from being selfish or unreasonable, and humbly desires their answer before the end of next week."

The work was designed to close with the hundredth number, which thus commences: "This being the last *Review* of this volume, and designed to be so of the work, the author cannot close it without paying the just debt of duty and acknowledgment to those gentlemen, who, beyond his merits and expectation, have been pleased to receive it with the same candour, and on the same foot on which it was originally designed, viz. public usefulness, entertainment and instruction." After invoking the candour of his readers for the mistakes he may have fallen into, he says, "As for the censuring, partial, and prejudiced part of mankind, who dislike the work for its unhappy, despicable author, and its author because his judgment and theirs may not agree, 'tis in vain to capitulate with them for civility and fair treatment. The rudeness, the heat, the contempt they treat him with, is the less a concern to him, as he sees it plainly produced by their passion rather than their judgment. He heartily wishes all the gentlemen on the other side, would give him equal occasion to honour them for their charity, temper, and gentleman-like dealing, as for their learning and virtue; and that when we cannot agree like brethren, we might fall out like gentlemen. He would willingly capitulate with them for an exchange of good language; that all our debates might be carried on by strength of reasoning and argument, solid proofs, matter of fact, and not by dint of Billingsgate storms of raillery and showers of ill words, that frenzy of the tongue, and shame of a good cause."

In the same number is the following proposal for continuing the work: "Whereas several gentlemen, who have been pleased to think this work useful and worth continuing, have made some very honourable proposals to the author, in order to carrying it on; he has, according to their desire, digested them into the form of a subscription, and left them at Mr. Matthews's, where any gentleman may see he is willing still to oblige them with his labour, and

only to provide against the necessary charges of the press, which he is very sorry he is not in a condition to oblige them with also." The issue of the application encouraged him to continue the work; and as he devoted his labours to it through several years, it may be hoped that he received some degree of remuneration. Towards the close of the volume, he was again solicited to publish his paper three times a week, which he was obliged to decline for the reasons given before; intimating, that "as he gave the world his pains for nothing, they must accept as much of his time as he can spare."

The volume closed the 24th of February, 1705, when it had reached to a hundred and two numbers. The following title was then published with it. "A Review of the affairs of France and of all Europe, as influenced by that nation: Being Historical Observations on the Public Transactions of the World; purged from the Errors and Partiality of News-Writers, and Petty-Statesmen of all sides. With an Entertaining Part in every sheet; Being Advice from the Scandal Club, to the curious Enquirers; in answer to Letters sent them for that purpose. London, Printed in the year 1705." pp. 456. Prefixed to the work, is a Preface of five pages, in which the author recounts the ill-treatment he had experienced. "I have studied to inform and to direct the world," says he, "and what have I had for my labour? Profit, the press would not allow; and therein I am not deceived, for I expected none. But good manners and good language, I thought I might expect, because I gave no other; and it is but just to treat mankind as they would be treated. But neither has this been paid me, in debt to custom and civility. How often have my ears, my hands, and my head been to be pulled off? Impotent bullies; that, attacked by truth and their vices stormed, fill the air with rhodomontades and indecencies, but never shewed their face to the resentment truth had a just cause to entertain for them! I have

passed through clouds of clamour, cavil, raillery and objection: and have this satisfaction, that truth being the design, *finis coronat*, I am never forward to value my own performances; but I cannot but own myself infinitely pleased, and more than satisfied, that wise men read this paper with pleasure, own the just observations in it, and have voted it useful."

There was no publisher's name to the volume: but it was announced that advertisements would be taken in at reasonable rates by J. Matthews, in Pilkington Court, Little Britain. Mr. Matthews continued to be the publisher until he got into trouble for it, as we shall see hereafter.

CHAPTER XI.

Clashings between the two Houses of Parliament.—The Session Terminates.—Intemperance of the Tories.—Legion's Address to the Lords.—A reward offered for the Author.—Answered paragraph by paragraph.—Falsely ascribed to De Foe.—His humorous Remarks upon it.—Change in the Ministry.—De Foe's Reflections.—New Party-distinction.—Beneficial Effect of De Foe's Writings.—Harley, a leading Agent of the late Changes.—Their Influence upon the Nation.—Faction displayed.—Character of Shippen.—Moderation displayed.—De Foe publishes his "Serious Inquiry."—Character of the Work.—He publishes "More Short Ways."—And "The Dissenters Misrepresented and Represented."—Leslie renews his attack upon the Dissenters in his "Cassandra."—Answered in "The Protestant Jesuit Unmasked."—De Foe publishes "A New Test of the Church of England's Honesty."—Which arouses the Indignation of Leslie.—Who sets on foot "The Rehearsal."—His Motives for undertaking it.—And Character as a Writer.—Account of the Work.—De Foe attacked by an Anonymous Writer.

1704.

THE irritation produced in the House of Commons by the loss of the Occasional Bill, was heightened by other measures which the Lords thought fit to adopt, in order to secure the Protestant succession, and protect the liberty of the subject. The Commons, departing from their natural province as guardians of popular right, now became zealous assertors of the prerogative. The Lords, on the other hand, whilst they evinced no disposition to invade the rights of the crown, thought themselves equally called upon to defend the privileges of the people; and it is pretty clear from the historians of the time, that if it had not been for the stand which they

now made, the Tories would have succeeded in erecting a despotism in Church and State, or else have plunged the nation into another civil war.

The interference of the Lords at this time, in the prosecution of the persons concerned in the Scotch plot, and their judicial proceedings in the celebrated case of Ashby and White, which the Commons regarded as an usurpation of their privileges, furnished the pretext for those violent measures which influenced the two Houses during the remainder of the session. Strong resolutions were entered upon their journals, and the spirit of them infused into addresses to the queen. These injurious contests were at length terminated by the close of the session, April 3d, 1704, with a pacific speech from the queen, who regretted that her former recommendation to unanimity had been so little attended to.

Whilst disappointment gave an edge to the resentments of men in parliament, the contention of parties without grew so hot, that a dreadful storm seemed impending over the heads of the people. "The humour of the times," says a sensible historian, "seemed so to turn in favour of the Whigs, as to fill them with hopes of better fortune; but what was matter of hope to them, seemed to the Tories to be a dangerous tempest ready to break upon the church; and the furious clergy began to prophecy and report among the people every where in the country, great dangers of the Lord knows what! So that now it was easy to perceive what influence there is in England in the mere cry of religion."* To such a heighth did they now carry their frenzy, as to break out into all manner of indecencies against the queen." The Tories no longer applauded her for her frugality, her constancy, or her English heart; but loaded her with severe reflections."† In virulent lampoons, they charged her with deserting and betraying the church; and accused her minis-

* Cunningham, i. 350. † Ibid, 353.

ters, the bishops, and indeed all who made any pretensions to moderation, of going over to the Presbyterians.* Of the queen it was said,—

> "When she was the church's daughter,
> She acted as her mother taught her;
> But now she's mother of the church,
> She's left her daughter in the lurch."

The late differences between the Lords and Commons, had raised such a ferment in the nation, that the parliament had not been prorogued many days, before a paper was printed and dispersed, under the title of "Legion's Humble Address to the Lords." In this paper, the writer sets forth, that when a House of Commons betrays its trust, and tramples upon the liberties of the people, it becomes an unlawful assembly, and ought to be deposed by the same rule that oppressed subjects may, and in all ages have deposed bloody and tyrannical princes. The address complains of the arbitrary proceedings of the Commons, in disfranchising the town of Maidstone, and in their late proceedings upon the Aylesbury election; also of their partiality in the prosecution of public defaulters, and in re-assuming the grants of the late king, whilst those of former reigns were allowed to continue. It notices their complimenting the queen with an hereditary right, to the disparagement of her parliamentary title; also, their addressing her to extend her prerogative, and thereby embroil her with the Peers, which it designates as an aggravated piece of treachery. The Lords are applauded for vindicating their own rights, and asserting those of the people; and the writer concludes with an assurance, that the freeholders of England will defend their lordships, in the maintenance of all their just and legal privileges, with their properties and their lives. The address is subscribed, "Our name is MILLION, and we are more."

* De Foe's *Jure Divino*. B. xi. p. 31.

The political maxims advanced in the above paper, being at variance with the politics of the day, and couched in unparliamentary language, the Tories were greatly exasperated; and many thousand copies being dispersed over the country, it was represented to the queen as fraught with sedition, and a fit object for the vengeance of the government. Although more consequence was attached to the performance than seemed demanded by such a trifle; yet to humour the Tories, the Queen issued a proclamation, offering a reward of one hundred pounds for the apprehension of the author, and fifty pounds for the printer; but it failed in bringing them to the light. A better mode of refuting *Legion*, was adopted by a writer of the staunch Tory school, in "An Answer, paragraph by paragraph, to the late skulking, scurrilous pamphlet, entitled Legion's Humble Address to the Lords. Printed in the year 1704." 4to. The writer, adopting the dialect of the times, thus points to the author: "If I am not greatly mistaken, a certain *little lord*, and a Whiggish orue that he entertains as his associates, and are as well known as if *anarchists* were written in their foreheads, were the compilers of this *bedrole* of base language; and speaking of the publisher, he says, "They have got a broken bookseller among them, who is a member of the Calves'-Head Club, and was lately turned out of two or three good offices in the government; that being constantly employed in printing libels in the reign of King Charles II. has now re-assumed the same post, and that's the reason why shameful libels and lampoons are so common in every hand." Leslie, in a postcript to the first part of "Cassandra," bestows some remarks upon this second address of Legion.

It being generally believed that De Foe was the author of a former paper, presented to the Commons, under the same name, suspicions fell upon him that he had also a hand in this address to the Lords. Anxious to exculpate himself from a charge that was calculated to aggravate his sufferings,

he published the following challenge in his *Review* for June 3, 1704.

"The author of this thinks himself obliged to appeal to the *club*, against a very scandalous letter sent them, charging a certain person with saying, he would inform against the author of the *Review*, as the author of *Legion's Address to the Lords*. The Society resolved, That if the gentleman did not say so, he ought to have reparation for the scandal of an informer. But the author of the Letter offering to prove he did say so, it was resolved in the name of the writer of this paper, That he challenges him and all the world to make it out; and though he thinks it a misfortune to be suspected, yet, as he had rather forty people should suspect it, than that one could prove it, he thinks himself very ill-treated to be talked into trouble upon common suspicion. He therefore gives the world this general notice, that if any man will come in and fairly prove it, he freely consents he shall do so. To those who have been so unkind as to repeat that he was fled for it, he takes the freedom to say, he has some thoughts of exposing himself to their view; and for two-pence a time, the price of seeing a monkey, they shall have the satisfaction of seeing him, like a quack doctor, from eight in the morning to twelve, and from two till nine at night."* In this sportive manner it was customary with De Foe to repel the accusations of his enemies.

The time was now arrived when the queen found it necessary to give into more moderate councils. Her own predelictions were all in favour of the Tories; nor is there any reason for supposing that she was secretly averse to their proceedings. But the collision of parties had warned her of the impolicy of sacrificing the general welfare to the views of rash politicians; and she became fearful of the con-

* Review, i. 120.

sequences that might result from the violent proceedings of those who were so loudly vociferating their loyalty. The Duke of Marlborough and Lord Godolphin, who had been all their lives of the high party, found it impossible to carry on the war, whilst linked with a set of men who were promoting dissentions in the nation, and paving the way for the Pretender. This, they represented to the queen, admonishing her of her danger, and expressing their own determination to abandon a party which was precipitating the nation to a fearful crisis. "These great ministers," observes one of our historians, "supported by the encouragement of Prince George of Denmark, and the continual insinuations of a lady then nearest the queen's person and heart, overcame her majesty's strong inclination to the cause for which she had so often heard it said in the pulpit, her royal grandfather was a martyr; and prevailed with her to put her affairs into such hands as her allies and her best subjects could confide in." *

To these political movements, De Foe has several references in various parts of his writings. Alluding to the furious course pursued by the ministry, he says, "How did they bring us to a necessity either of dethroning their expectations as to a revolution in the succession, or of owning the queen an usurper, and holding the crown as tenant for life? a story, which if ever it comes to be truly told, will discover more wickedness than most people have hearts to charge that party with; and when I may enter farther into it, *as in time I may*, will lay open a black design, not only against her majesty's government, but even against her life." †

In another of his works, he takes notice of a new party distinction, to which these political changes gave birth. "The queen," says he, "who, though willing to favour the

* Oldmixon, iii. 330. † Review, v. 40.

high-church party, did not thereby design the ruin of those whom she did not employ, was soon alarmed at their wild conduct, and turned them out, adhering to the moderate counsels of those who better understood, or more faithfully pursued her majesty's and the country's interest. In this turn fell Sir Edward Seymour's party, for so the high men were then called; and to this turn we owe the conversion of several other great men, who became Whigs upon that occasion, which it is known they were not before; which conversion afterwards begat that unkind distinction of Old Whig and Modern Whig, which some of the former were with very little justice pleased to run up afterwards to an extreme very pernicious to both." *

With an allowable sort of self-love, De Foe imagined that his own sufferings in the cause of liberty, had some share in producing this favourable change in public affairs; and there seems no reason to doubt that his writings had a beneficial effect in influencing public opinion. It was in allusion to this circumstance, that he penned the following passage. "The severe usage of the author increased this turn. They fined him, imprisoned him, pilloryed him, and indeed ruined him. But his contempt of them, even under all his sufferings; his *Hymn to the Pillory*, which he made in derision of them, and published the very day they exposed him; the shouts of the people when he was taken down; and the general abhorrence shewn, as well by moderate Churchmen, as Dissenters, at the severities used against him, all testified that the nation had received a new tincture, and the furious spirit aforesaid received a visible check from this accident, however trifling in itself. But that the reader may see this more plainly by the consequences, it is worth observing, that the government taking a right view of the stream of the people's affections, and her majesty, whose

* Appeal to Honour and Justice, p. 10, 11.

goodness naturally disliked the violence of those spirits who were running things to these extremes, gave a full turn to the public humour. The men of moderate principles about her majesty fell in with the occasion, and representing how ill a use some people had made of her majesty's words, soon convinced her, that the destruction of all her dissenting subjects was aimed at; which, as it was a thought the queen abhorred, so, in her next speech to the parliament, she gave a public testimony of her dislike, and on other occasions testified some wonder that any of her subjects should so far mistake her meaning, as to take encouragement from her words to widen the breach between her Protestant subjects. Nor was this all: but as the temper of moderation prevailed at court, so were the men of moderate principles encouraged; and in a few days, a revolution at court, to the general satisfaction of the nation, was effected, by displacing the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Privy Seal; the Earl of Nottingham, Secretary of State; Sir Edward Seymour, Comptroller of the Household, and all their adherents and dependants. This happened in the month of April, 1704."

In reference to the conduct of some public men at that period, De Foe writes thus: "It cannot be denied here, without great injustice, that Mr. Harley, Speaker of the House of Commons, was the principal agent in introducing these moderate and healing councils; and, in representing to her majesty, in behalf of the Dissenters, the ruinous designs formed by a party of men, who would not only have involved her majesty in a troublesome and ungrateful breach with so considerable a body of her subjects, but would have engaged her in a bitter and furious persecution for conscience-sake, both contrary to her known disposition, and to the true interest of her kingdom. And, if when her majesty came to be rightly informed of these things, it filled her with a just indignation at the instruments, it cannot be wondered at.—Nor did her majesty only come into the moderate schemes

above; but to this epocha is to be referred the time when the Lord Treasurer Godolphin, the Duke of Marlborough, the Duchess, and many more, who, during the whole reign of the late king, had been on the other side to an extreme, who were always high-church, and had been counted by some, among the worst enemies the Dissenters had, came over, and became, what from that day they were esteemed all over the nation, viz. Whigs. In pursuance of the moderate councils which now began to govern, several great, happy, and successful steps were taken in the public affairs both at home and abroad."* Here De Foe takes a brief review of some of those successes, which he ascribes solely to the wisdom, prudence and unanimity of the new ministers.

In another work, he thus describes the effect of their policy at home. "Upon changing hands, affairs changed their face; funds were cheerfully given, loans came in, taxes fully answered, and the treasury, under the same happy administration, regained a circumstance it had long wanted—I mean credit." De Foe then bestows a just eulogium upon the prudent management of Lord Godolphin. "The Lord High Treasurer has by a management, too well known and too openly confessed by our enemies to need any panegyric of mine, found means to procure money, by restoring, or rather new-forming a thing we never had before, at least in such a degree; which has been an equivalent to specie, doing what specie itself, unless the quantity had been immense, could never do, and what was hardly in the imagination of man to be supposed so much as possible:—This was, in short, raising the national credit."†

The political intrigues that occasioned the subversion of the ministry, gave rise to a poem that attracted much notice at the time, chiefly on account of the caustic nature of its satire, and the number of distinguished individuals against

* Present State of Parties, p. 21—27. † Review, vii. 213, 214.

whom it was discharged. Its title is, "Faction Displayed. A Poem. Lond. printed in the year 1704." The author is said to have been William Shippen, a sincere and consistent Jacobite, and a strenuous opponent of Walpole's administration in the subsequent reigns.* He shone but little either as a poet or a politician, but gained credit at the time for his incorruptible integrity, and the zeal with which he supported his political tenets. Having conceived some resemblance between the factions of his time, and those of Rome in the days of Cataline, he composed the above poem, in which he designates the principal Whig Lords, by the names of the leading persons who were concerned with the Roman conspirator. In describing their characters, which he draws at some length, he strips them of all pretensions to virtue, either as men or as citizens, and loads them with the foulest crimes. The great idol of his fancy, is Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester, whom he eulogizes under the name of Celsus, the Roman consul. The patriotism of Shippen was of the same contracted growth as that of Rochester, and swept from its embraces all who were not throroughly imbued with high church politics. He therefore feels sore at the Toleration, and shoots his arrows at those prelates who had distinguished themselves as the patrons of pacific measures. Tennison, Burnet, and Lloyd, are the objects of his deepest hatred, as the upholders of schism, and the destroyers of religion. These he disadvantageously contrasts with the churchmen of former times:

> "How are thy prelates changed from what they were,
> When Laud or Sancroft filled the sacred chair?"

This poem being in great repute with the Tories, soon ran through a number of editions, some of them being surrepti-

* Coxe's Life of Walpole, iv. 214.

tiously printed. The most perfect is that in octavo, printed in 1705, and said in the title, to be "Now first correctly published, with large amendments, and the addition of several characters omitted in former editions." In the third volume of Davies's Miscellanies, there are some critical remarks by the editor, elucidating the character of the work; and expressing some doubt whether Shippen was the author (H). Whatever were the merits of Shippen, for courage and uprightness, he had but small pretensions to moderation, and as little to patriotism. His love of country was absorbed in a regard for a favourite dynasty, and was hostile to that rational liberty which merges the interest of factions and families in the general welfare.

This sharp satire upon the Whigs did not remain long without an answer. In the *Review* for May the 6th, is advertised, as just published, "Some Critical and Political

(H) Davies remarks, "In a printed copy of the following poem, which was published soon after the death of King William, I have seen written the name of W. Shippen, Esq. This, I must confess, does not bear sufficient authority to fix it upon that gentleman, whose principles indeed were well known; nor can it be doubted that he was a staunch Tory. But the writer of "Faction Displayed," seems to be an utter stranger to the moderate and patriotic views attributed to W. Shippen. His satire is sometimes extremely virulent, and often degenerates into mere abuse. The poem is upon many accounts very curious; it gives no ill picture of the times in which it was written. We are presented with a group of characters remarkable for their attachment to the illustrious House of Hanover, who were employed in the most eminent posts of the government during the first eight years of Queen Anne's reign. The character of the famous Marquis of Wharton, seems to be the outline of Pope's masterly description of the Duke his son. The poetry of this piece is very unequal. It sometimes rises to a just heighth, and at other times sinks into prosaic flatness. The characters are often overcharged, and aggravated into caricatures. Such are those of the Earl of Halifax, and Lord Somers. But there is certainly upon the whole, strong sense, much vigorous turn of fancy, and many happy and spirited touches of wit and plesantry in this vehement satire."—*Davies's Miscellanies*, iii. 249.

Remarks on a late virulent Lampoon, called Faction Display'd. Sold by the Booksellers. Price Sixpence." It was also parodied by some Whig writer, in " Faction Displayed. Part the Second;" which drew down the anger of Leslie, in the first part of his " Cassandra," where he quotes from it several lines that justify the expulsion of James the Second.

Towards the end of the year, Shippen published a companion to his former satire, under the title of " Moderation Displayed. A Poem. By the Author of 'Faction Displayed.' Lond. printed in the year 1704." 4to. This was also reprinted in octavo in the following year, with corrections, and some additions by the author. In the poem, he depicts under feigned names, the characters of the leading Tories who had lately quitted office, and who, according to his account, were possessed of every virtue that could adorn the most accomplished statesmen. At the same time, he launches against their successors all the thunderbolts of his vengeance, and calls up the powers of darkness to blacken them as the greatest monsters of the species. In his eyes, all the wisdom and goodness in the world center in Toryism; whilst the hapless Whigs are doomed to folly and disgrace. But such gross favoritism, however it might pass off in the heat of party, is too bare-faced to survive its period. In a preface of considerable length, the author has a bitter invective against moderation, " the watchword of the *new party*," who, says he, " have assumed to themselves a very specious name and character, and would be thought the only patriots of their country. But false friends are the most dangerous enemies, and they are yet much more so when they are invested with power, and the ministration of affairs wholly put into their hands." The author expresses his anger at a judgment pronounced in Westminster Hall, in the case of Abraham Gill; and takes the opportunity of shooting his

intitled, "More Short Ways with the Dissenters. London. 1704." 4to. pp. 24 (K). Instead of adopting the disguise he assumed in a former pamphlet with a similar title, he now told his story in plain and intelligible language. His satire, however, is sufficiently caustic and severe. He was aroused to the attack by the continued insults of the high-flying clergy, whose sermons and writings were a series of libels against the Dissenters. The works he had particularly in view, were Wesley's attack upon Dissenting Academies, already noticed; and an assize sermon of Sacheverell's, preached before the University of Oxford, the Judges and Grand Jury, March the 9th, 1703-4; in which he repeats the slanders of Wesley.

In reference to his own case, he says, "That if the resentment of the government against him was not well-founded, that noble lord who told the author of his extraordinary guilt, would be puzzled to find a crime in it (L);" and yet, if any regard was to be paid to the clergy, it was too plain that the charge he suggested against them was true. From whence he infers, "That the author has nothing to ask pardon of the Church of England for, but that he, like a too credulous fool, gave any heed to such slight and cursory things as preaching and printing. What," continues he, "though a reverend bishop had frequently said we should never be well in England till all the Dissenters were served as the Hugonots in France? What, though Dr. H. has frequently preached and printed, that the Dissenters are a brood of traitors, and the spawn of rebels not fit to live? What though the author of whom we are now treating, has declared from the pulpit, that a man can't be a true son of the Church of England, but he must lift up the bloody flag

(K) In the *Review* for Saturday, April 29, is the following advertisement. Yesterday was published, "More Short Ways with the Dissenters, price 6*d*."

(L) He probably alludes to the Earl of Nottingham.

against the Dissenters? Yet, since printing books is but a modern contrivance to get a penny, and ought to be prepared so as may best suit the market; and sermons are only long speeches directed to, and made to please the auditory, and consequently suited to their circumstances and humour: it does not therefore follow, that because they have preached and printed these things, they really intended them. No, good men, it was far from their thoughts! The author therefore was most justly punished for his folly in believing any thing they said, for telling that story in earnest, which the churchmen preached, printed, and talked about only in jest." Addressing the high-flyers, he says, "But, if what you preach, print, or say, be in earnest; if you would have us believe you, and give heed to your sermons, your satires and invectives; then 'tis no scandal to affirm, that there is a barbarous design on foot among those who call themselves members of the Church of England, to extirpate and destroy the Dissenters, and to do every thing by them that is equivalent to what has been called '*The Shortest Way*,' and consequently, that author has been barbarously treated."

Alluding to the late sermon at Oxford, he says, "Mr. Sacheverell has blown his second trumpet, to let us know he has not yet taken down his bloody flag, and that he was the real author of the '*Shortest Way*,' though another was punished for it; and we see he has the face to let them know, he is still of the same mind." The principal part of our author's pamphlet is a review of the sermon of this political demagogue, which he describes as "a mass of gall, mixed up to a consistency with prejudice, envy, pride, and ungoverned passion." Instead of troubling himself with the preacher's foul language and bitter invectives, as things which did him little good, and his argument less, he tells him that it shall be his business rather to caution the world against the gross falsehoods he has vented in the pulpit, which had claims at least to some reverence for the truth.

He then answers his aspersions upon the Dissenters and low-churchmen, who were the indiscriminate objects of his passion; observing, that it is to the latter the church owes her preservation, "when the fury of such hot-spurs as himself had brought her to the door of destruction."

In the article of persecution, so pompously set out by Sacheverell, De Foe offers to come to an account with him, and adds, "Your clamours are so unjust, that we cannot but let you know, we are preparing an exact history both of our treatment of you, and your treatment of us, which you shall have a monthly prospect of; in which all your barbarities, injustice, as well as ingratitude, shall at large appear. And as we are forced to this method to undeceive the world, to whom such incendiaries as yourself misrepresent us, so you are notoriously the aggressors in your constant endeavours to blacken us to posterity, and force us to expose you for our own just vindication. We had much rather live in peace, and bury the iniquities of our and your fathers in silence, with their ashes; but since you are always raking up the actions of the dead, and valuing yourselves upon the days of forty-one, we shall trace you back to your original, and bring you to an exact balance as to rebellion, loyalty, killing of kings, persecution principles, honesty and charity, and we declare ourselves content to stand by the account.

"In the mean time, we have been advertised in print, of a *black list* preparing for public view, of all the sufferings of the Church of England clergy, in the rebellion of 1641; and that all well-wishers to the nation's feuds should send in what materials they have to raise the bulk. I take the freedom to give the author notice, that we will give them time to finish their design; we will abate them all Mr. Calamy's ninth chapter of Mr. Baxter's Life, and 3000 ministers silenced and turned out; we will perhaps add something for them to the list of their sufferers; we will throw them in 500,000*l.* sterling to the amount of damages; we will quit them a tun

of Dissenters' blood; and abate them all the time they take to muster up their evidence; and in the short space of fourteen days after their publication, come to a fair account of persecution with them, and the whole shall turn upon the balance (M).

"And, as I design once a month to give a particular account of the misrepresentations and base treatment the Dissenters receive from this party, till I have gone through the whole history, so I shall produce such unanswerable proofs, such just authorities, and plain matter of fact, that I have no apprehensions of being disproved, having no need to help out our cause with so weak and disadvantageous a shift as the refuge of lies."

In pursuance of his promise, just mentioned, De Foe published, not long afterwards, "The Dissenters Misrepresented and Represented. Lond. 1704." 4to. In this work, he points out a variety of particulars in which the Dissenters were calumniated by high-churchmen; and remarks, that they showed themselves better qualified to blacken the characters of others, than to clear up their own. Nine parts in ten of the Dissenters, he says, protest against the practice of Occasional Conformity; yet, in the crowd of pamphlets and state sermons lately published, he had not found the least justice done to the character of such, but all are involved in the general storm. "Scandal, like death, spares nobody; and the church, which should be the pattern of charity and justice, becomes the infamous herald of slander and reproach."

The following passage strongly marks the spirit of the

(M) De Foe here refers to Dr. Walker's ponderous volume upon the Sufferings of the Episcopal Clergy, which did not make its appearance until the year 1714, when it was too late to answer the purposes of party; and it has been a dead weight upon the shelves of the booksellers ever since.

times: "'Tis hardly worth while to mention the unusual exorbitance of our church mob against their brethren the Dissenters. Some are so hot, they can't stay till this bill is passed into a law, and other opportunities happen further to suppress them: but they are for depriving them of their right of voting for parliament-men, as freeholders. To which I would add, let them go on, and take away their freeholds too; a thing every jot as just, and then the business will be over. Another late author has informed the world, that he has found out a new way of accomplishing the purpose; and it is, to have all the Dissenters' children educated in the Church of England, whether they will or no. So, first, we are to have our birth-right taken away, and then our children; and so on *the shortest way*." De Foe tells these furious churchmen, that they borrowed their policy form Louis XIV. who began by taking away first the character, then the privileges, and afterwards the employments of the Protestants; and when the scheme was ripe, followed it up by putting their children to Popish schools, and then added the last *coup de grace* by their banishment. And "this is the pattern these gentlemen walk by, who yet are so affronted at being told, that they intend to proceed with us *the shortest way*."

The object of the men who made all this clamour against the Dissenters, was easily penetrated by our author. "'Tis plain," says he, "that all the storm threatening them is the effect of a civil juggle, to strip them of the places that others gape after, and to prevent them possessing them for the future; and this, not so much for the safety of the nation, as to engross the profits to themselves. As for the places, if the government won't employ us, we must go without them; but this does not make it just to disqualify us by law. It is enough that the powers are bent against us, without our being so enchained, that it must be made criminal to accept of employment.—One would think," con-

tinues he, "by the odious reproaches with which the hot-spurs of the church load the Dissenters, that all the favorites, ministers of state, lords of the treasury, receivers, and commissioners of all sorts in the last reign, were Dissenters; and that they were the public harpies and thieves of the nation's treasure. Upon the strictest search, I can find but two Dissenters who were in places of great trust; and to the eternal glory of the Dissenters, I challenge all the sons of slander to shew me two men, either in that or any reign, who discharged their trusts with more integrity, unwearied diligence, and spotless honesty; and who carried an untainted reputation to their graves. These, for I am far from being ashamed of their names, were old Thomas Papillon, Esq., First Commissioner of the Victualling Office; and Mordecai Abbot, in the Exchequer. They were both professed Dissenters, continued in their places through the whole reign of King William, died in the service, and neither of them has left room for the least reproach. Envy could never blacken them living, nor slander touch them now they are dead; and all men that understood the business they went through, and have the honour to speak impartially, do own that never prince had two better officers." De Foe turns the tables upon his adversaries, by showing that the men who have been charged with plundering the public, were all acknowledged sons of the Church of England, and he challenges them to prove the contrary.

In the month of June, this year, Leslie, the high-church champion, appeared again before the public, in a thick pamphlet, entitled "CASSANDRA. (But I hope not.) Telling what will come of it. Num. I., In answer to the Occasional Letter, Num. I., wherein the New Associations, &c. are considered. Lond, 1704." 4to. This was quickly followed by a second part of still greater bulk. His title alluded to Cassandra's predictions during the siege of Troy, which the people were indisposed to believe, and considered

her insane. The new associations referred to by Leslie, were a fiction of his own brain. His object in these publications was to rebuild the absurd edifice of government, which had been so often overthrown by De Foe and other writers, and to alarm the nation for the consequences of those principles of moderation that were avowed by Whigs and Dissenters. Leslie was answered in "The Protestant Jesuit unmasked. In Answer to the Two Parts of Cassandra: wherein the Author and his Libels are laid open; with the True Reason why he would have the Dissenters humbled. Lond. 1704." Leslie bestows some remarks upon it in his "Rehearsal," No. 25; and the following advertisement in the *Review* for November, 21, probably has a reference to the same publication: "There is now in the press and will be speedily published, 'An Answer to Cassandra, &c.' and this advertisement is published to oblige the author, who is so fond of being replied to, that he is pleased to rail weekly for want of it." These remarks were by De Foe, as was most probably the work announced in the advertisement.

De Foe renewed his attack upon the high party, in the month of July, in a work entitled "A New Test of the Church of England's Honesty. Lond. 1704." 4to. pp. 24. This was designed as a sequel to his former pamphlet, entitled "A Test of the Church of England's Loyalty," the object of which was to shew that certain churchmen had but indifferent pretensions to that political virtue. In the present performance, he brings forward a charge as little favourable to their morals, and sustains it in a variety of particulars as it regarded their behaviour to the Dissenters.

Upon their neglect to answer his former charge of disloyalty, which they had only repelled by abuse, he says, "'Tis true, they have made use of power for want of argument, and supplied the place of an answer, by finding the author a lodging in Newgate: and he that owned that

pamphlet to be his, has found the truth of that old verse which ends with *Acheronta movebo;* which being interpreted may signify, That if arguments cannot answer him, the pillory and a fine *ultra tenementum* shall." In the following passage, he reproaches himself for not producing upon his trial, the proofs that he had at hand in support of the allegations in his pamphlet. "'Tis something to be wondered at, that when the author of '*The Shortest Way with the Dissenters*', was charged with sedition, he did not think fit to tell the world that it was Church of England sedition, preached in a Church of England pulpit, printed in a Church of England University, officially licensed, and consequently owned by Church of England authority. Had he done thus, and produced Sacheverell's book for it, intitled *Political Union*, licensed by the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, I know not what others might do, but I am sure no English jury would have brought him in guilty."

Having premised these things concerning himself, our author enters upon the subject of his present pamphlet, and introduces it by observing, that "If upon the whole matter it can be proved that the honesty of these men has run the same fate with their loyalty; that they are no more bound by common integrity to one another, to their neighbours, nor to themselves, than by their allegiance to their princes; then any body may guess at the rest of their principles, and all the world may expect to be treated by them accordingly." Before entering upon his argument, he defines his terms. By honesty, he does not mean the relative virtue, in its common acceptation; "but ecclesiastical honesty, or the honesty of the clergy in their dealings with their Christian neighbours." By the church, he wishes to be understood as meaning those who valued themselves upon the distinction of high-churchmen, and condemned all others as traitors both to church and state. He justifies himself in this appropriation of the word, "Because they have assumed

to themselves a liberty of advancing their bloody designs in the name of the whole:" and he thinks he does no injustice to "those moderate members of the church, who do not comply with these sons of Jehu, yet quietly suffer themselves to be imposed on; and therefore these gentlemen ought to blame themselves as accessaries to the scandal, by their tacit assent to the practices of their hot-headed brethren." He then runs over his various charges of dishonesty, and concludes with the following apostrophe to himself: "Alas, poor De Foe! What hast thou been doing, and for what hast thou suffered? When all things are examined, either these gentlemen are guilty of the vilest dishonesty, are all cheats and hypocrites, or else *the Shortest Way* is at the bottom, and Mr. De Foe has done them no wrong; and if he has done them none, somebody has done him a great deal."

The indignation of Leslie, the high-church champion, was now provoked to rage and bitterness. He complains of the number of pamphlets dispersed by the Dissenters, "so full of rancour and scurrility, and calculated for mob-understandings;" and he notices "Two short ones, '*The New Test of the Church of England's Loyalty*,' and '*The New Test of the Church of England's Honesty*,' by the same hand, as samples of the restless and provoking spirit of their spiteful writers." He says, they are not answers to any high-church writer, but originals in their kind, and "that for peace-sake, no answer has hitherto been given by any of the church to either of these invidious pamphlets, though they have been trumpetted up and down both town and country, more than any other since the Revolution, and are boasted of as unanswerable by all the Dissenters, who triumph in them!" Leslie produces this as an instance of moderation in his party; whilst De Foe triumphs in it as a proof of the unanswerable nature of his arguments. Leslie, however, felt himself goaded to take up the cause of his party; for

he says, "since they can hardly go into company where there is a Whig or a Dissenter, or even a low-churchman, but such an answer is called for with no little insulting; and though it is much beneath him to enter the lists with De Foe, yet, where the mischief is great and spreading, the putting a stop to it is not unworthy the greatest man, though he stoop below himself when that becomes necessary: and he will judge it fitting for him to condescend to this the more readily, in consideration that he himself is not meanly concerned in the black aspersions cast upon the church in those books." * Notwithstanding all this vapouring, the great Goliah of his party seems to have contented himself with some occasional reflections upon De Foe, in a periodical work called "The Rehearsal;" which he now set on foot, to counteract the efforts of the *Review* and the *Observator*.

The author of this vain attempt to revive the exploded pretensions of the *Regale* and the *Pontificate*, was distinguished no less by his acrimonious style of writing, than by the excessive absurdity of his notions. The motives that induced him to undertake it, are unfolded in his preface, and may be seen in the note. (N) The reputation of the

* Rehearsal, No. 18.

(N) "Their books and pamphlets have been solidly and seriously answered; but their papers have been neglected, that is, their weekly penny-papers, which go through the nation like news-papers, and have done much more mischief than the others. For the greatest part of the people do not read books, most of them cannot read at all, but they will gather together about one that can read, and listen to an *Observator*, or *Review* (as I have seen them in the streets, where all the principles of rebellion are instilled into them, and they are taught the doctrine of priestcraft, to banter religion and the holy scriptures, and are told most villanous lies and stories of the clergy, which they suck in greedily, and are prejudiced past expression. The consequence of this seemed very terrible to me, for though the common people are not the heads, they are the hands of rebellion; it is by them the work must be done. Besides, the concern for their souls is of the greatest consideration, to see them thus debauched, and led headlong into all

writer in his own party, procured it a temporary popularity amongst those who held monarchy to be of divine right, and were willing to be hood-winked by their priests; but his reasoning is of too flimsy a nature to obtain credit in the world, and his pretensions far too ridiculous to impose upon persons who were both willing and able to make use of their senses. Liberal politics having gone down in the world, his bitter invectives against the Dissenters were acceptable to those who were desirous of renewing the persecution against them; and there were many such at this time who cloaked their bigotry by advancing the most extravagant claims for the ecclesiastical orders. Leslie published his first number under the title of the "Observator," upon Wednesday, August 2, 1704, but altered it in the second number to "The Rehearsal," which appeared the following Saturday; and it continued to be published weekly upon that day, for about a year and half, when a Wednesday's paper was added. In this form it remained until the close of the work, Saturday, March 26, 1709, when it had reached 408 numbers, leaving the *Review* and the *Observator* in full possession of the field, which they continued to occupy some years afterwards. It seems, the *Rehearsal* had been lately threatened with a prosecution for libel. It was, like the "Observator," a folio pub-

profaneness and irreligion! The remedy for this was but one of two, either to put a stop to these pernicious papers, or to answer them. The first was not in my power; and the second was very disagreeable to me, because the answer must be in the same method as these papers, to come out weekly, and to be read by the people, else it would signify nothing as to them. And to procure them to listen to such an antidote, the design must not appear at first, for people so prejudiced would not bear it. Therefore it was necessary, that at first setting out, these papers should bear an humorous title, and begin with that pleasantry or fooling with which they were so much taken in the other papers, but still keeping off from that beastliness and profaneness which passed for wit in the others, and made most part of their dull jests. For this reason, I borrowed the title of that most humorous and ingenious of our plays, called "The *Rehearsal*."—*Leslie's Preface.*

lication. In imitation of the same paper, Leslie adopted the dialogue form, and introduced the same speakers as his rival. Besides discussing the politics of the day, he entered largely upon subjects of ecclesiastical controversy, for which his disputatious temper, no less than the nature of his education, amply qualified him. Leslie, however, was born a few centuries too late for the successful display of his talents. His "Rehearsals" were neatly re-printed in six volumes duodecimo, in 1750, so that they are more easily met with than the papers of his opponents. In this work, he carried on an unsparing warfare against civil and religious liberty; and De Foe, as one of its most strenuous champions, frequently figures in his pages.

William Bisset, one of the ministers of St. Katherine's Hospital, and a decided Whig, having published a sermon this year, intitled, "Plain English," it met with a reply by "a staunch churchman," in a pamphlet called "Plain Dealing," in which he alludes to De Foe, as one of the leading writers of his party, and sadly laments the impression produced by his writings. Adopting the usual slang of the high party, he says, "A De Foe, a Bisset, a Calamy, shall be received with applause, when men of honesty and virtue shall be hissed and slighted; but it is to be hoped, that there are many thousands of religious souls that have not bowed to the *Baal* of *Schism!*" Since the time of this writer, it has been discovered, that honesty and virtue are not allied exclusively to any party.

CHAPTER XII.

De Foe's Complaints against the Printers.—Unfair Use of his Name.—His playful Treatment of the Pirates.—Libelled in the "Dissenting Hypocrite."—Comical History of Mumper.—Dictionary of All Religions.—Particulars of the Great Storm.—Its Effect upon the Nation.—The "Layman's Sermon."—Hussey's "Warning from the Winds."—Relation of the late Dreadful Tempest.—De Foe's Narrative of the Storm.—His Serious Reflections upon the Event.—Reproof to Atheists.—His Remarks upon the Natural Causes of Winds.—His Materials for the Work.—He personates his Authorities.—Examples of his Invention.

1704.

THAT the writings of De Foe had an extensive circulation, we have the testimony of his enemies; who also bear witness to the effect they produced both upon themselves, and upon the nation at large. The ready sale they obtained excited the cupidity of mercenary printers, who sent out pirated copies to the injury of the author's reputation, as well as of his pocket. But this was not the only evil he had to complain of. Availing themselves of his popularity, they often affixed his name to works that he never wrote, not regarding the dishonesty of the act, so long as it turned to their pecuniary advantage. Of this dishonourable proceeding, he makes mention in various of his writings, and brands it with the reproach it so justly merited (o). All his

(o) In the "Review," for April 4, the printer of the "London Post" is brought before the *Scandal Club*, for putting the name of De Foe before a book of his own making. "He pleaded the custom of the trade, to put any name to a book when he thinks it will sell the better. The Society contented themselves with voting it scandalous, and ordered him to make satisfaction by a future amendment, though they have little hopes of it."

remonstrances, however, were unavailing, and sometimes he was obliged to have recourse to the protection of the law. The *Scandal Club* that he had instituted as a part of his "*Review*," for the correction of private offences, was occasionally pressed into his own service for the exposure of these piracies. The following example will show the playfulness of humour with which he sometimes treated them.

"July 25. The author of the "True-Born Englishman" was summoned before the *Club*, upon the complaint of a poor hawker who was sent to Bridewell lately. The poor woman had cried abundance of scoundrel papers, "Trip to the Devil's Summer-House;" "High Flyer;" "Low Flyer," and the like; all as written by the author of the "True-Born Englishman," for which he made complaint to the magistrate, and had laid hold of this one by way of example. The woman insisted that he was the author of it, and summoned in a crowd of printers to justify it; they having ordered her to cry it so, and told her it was true: but when the poor woman wanted her vouchers, none of them would appear. The author, to prove the negative in the particular paper which the woman was taken with, viz. "The Picture of a High Flyer," produced the very paper, varied only in a few proper names, printed above twenty years ago, being written by Henry Care, and called "The Character of a Tory." The Society pitied the poor woman and let her go; but resolved that the printers should stand convicted of petty forgery, and be bound once a week to repeat the following lines *a la penitent*, as a further satisfaction to the author.

"The mob of wretched writers stand,
With storms of wit in every hand;
They bait my mem'ry in the street,
And charge me with the credit of their wit.
I bear the scandal of their crimes,
My name's the hackney title of the times.

Hymn, song, lampoon, ballad, and pasquinade,
My recent memory invade;
My muse must be the whore of poetry,
And all Apollo's bastards laid to me."*

"After this, a debate happened how to prevent the like for the future; but some difficulties appearing, the said author told them he would propose a method to make it plain to all the town. And first, declaring that he wrote nothing but what has fairly been published as his own, and as he hopes he shall never write any thing that he shall either be afraid or ashamed to own; so, whatever he writes for the future, shall have his hand fairly set to it, that every body may know it, and wishes all authors were obliged to do the like. And though he cannot believe his friends, nor hardly his enemies, very forward to think him concerned in any of the shams cried about the streets in his name; yet, for the future, they will be certain when they do not see his hand to a paper, that 'tis none of his; and they that will print his name to their own, as some have done, must do it at their peril."†

Besides the injuries he sustained from street-libellers, De Foe was frequently assaulted in more stable publications, by the petty wits of his day. An abusive and impotent attack was made upon him about this time, in a wretched work bearing the following title: "In Imitation of Hudibras. The Dissenting Hypocrite, or Occasional Conformist; with Reflections on two of the Ring-Leaders, &c., viz. 1. Their Works and Writings. 2. Their Professions and Principles. 3. Their Qualifications and Parts. 4. Their Persons and Practices. Lond. 1704." 8vo. It has been sagaciously remarked, that "The author has very prudently told us at the head of his title page, that the work was written in

* Elegy on the author of the "True-Born Englishman."
† *Review*, i. 179.

imitation of Hudibras,' or we should not have suspected him of any such intention."* This author was probably no other than Ned Ward, who mistook ribaldry for wit, and adapted his coarse and vulgar rhymes to the humour of the street-gentry. The two ring-leaders who are made the heroes of his poem, are De Foe and Tutchin, whom he endeavours to hold up to ridicule, by raking into their past history, and caricaturing their writings. Whatever might have been the effect of such missiles in those days of party rancour, they can now excite no other feeling than contempt.

The following work, published about this time, has been ascribed to De Foe, and is inserted by Mr. Chalmers in the list of his suppositious publications; but upon what ground of probability, the present writer cannot say, having never seen the work. It is frequently advertised in the *Reviews* for this year, and for the first time, the third of June, as follows: "The Comical History of the Life and Death of MUMPER, Generalissimo of King Charles the Second's Dogs. By *Heliostropolis*, Secretary to the Emperor of the Moon. London: printed in the year 1704." 8vo.

Another publication that now made its appearance, and has been frequently attributed to De Foe, is intitled, "*Dictionarium Sacrum seu Religiosum.* A Dictionary of all Religions, ancient and modern. Whether Jewish, Pagan, Christian or Mahometan. More particularly comprehending, I. The Lives and Doctrines of the Authors and Propagators. II. The Respective Divisions, Sects and Heresies. III. Not only the True, but False Objects of Worship, such as Heathen Gods, Idols, &c. IV. The Various Ways and Places of Adoration. V. All Religious Orders, and Communities. VI. Sacred Rites, Utensils, and Festivals.

* Retrospective Review, iii 32.

VII. Distinct Offices and Functions. VIII. Rules, Customs, Ceremonies, &c. London: printed for James Knapton, at the Crown, in St. Paul's Church Yard, 1704." 8vo. This was the first attempt to embody a history of religious opinions in the form of a Dictionary.

For associating the name of De Foe with this work, there is no other evidence than public report, which is a doubtful authority. But whether it be justly ascribed to him or not, it was the production of a liberal-minded christian, and from the tone in which he speaks of the non-established sects, it may be presumed he was a Dissenter. Although the work has been superseded by later publications, yet as a first effort of the kind it is intitled to praise; and may be still consulted with advantage.

The next undoubted publication of De Foe's, was of an historical nature, and rendered interesting by a recent calamity that could not fail to awaken the public attention.

In the night of the 27th of November, 1703, there arose a dreadful storm of wind, which for violence, extent and duration, as well as for the dismal consequences that accompanied it, was unprecedented in history. The particulars of this event may be summed up in the following brief narrative. "About the middle of the night, a violent wind arose, which blew down the steeples of churches, tore off the tiles, and rolled up the leads of houses, tossing them through the air to great distances, rooted up the largest trees, or broke them off short, carried hay-ricks and stacks of corn to great heights, scattered them abroad, and beat down the chimnies in divers places, to the destruction of many people in the towns. The ships which lay in the mouth of the Thames and other parts, were driven foul of one another. The sailors, not knowing what to avoid, or which way to steer, abandoned themselves to despair, expecting every

moment to be their last. Some ships having broke their cables, and lost their anchors, drove before the wind, without helm or steerage, and either dashed one another to pieces, or were swallowed up in the raging deep. Some were driven out to sea, without any rigging; and others run upon the sands, rocks, and shores. The Admiral was driven to sea without mast or anchor, from the Downs, and lost, together with his ship; and other ships which had been in his squadron were driven to the coast of Holland in five hours time, with their masts broken, without any art or direction; and others to other places. The watch-towers, with the watchmen, were overthrown together; and the destruction which this storm occasioned was long remembered with awe and horror. In the space of one tempestuous night, a gallant English fleet was reduced to nothing: and it is incredible what a dismal appearance there was at London and other towns. The mathematicians observed, that the force of this tempest did not extend farther south than the river Loire in France, nor farther north than the river Trent in England." *

Some further particulars of the damage incurred upon the occasion, are thus related by another historian. "On Friday the 26th of November, between eleven and twelve o'clock at night, there was the greatest tempest in the western and southern parts of England, and in some parts of the eastern, that was ever known or heard of. The wind blew west, south west, and grumbled like thunder, accompanied with flashes of lightning. It threw down several battlements and stacks of chimnies at St. James's Palace; tore to pieces tall trees in the Park, and killed a servant in the house. The guard-house at Whitehall was much damaged, as was the Banquetting-house. A great deal of lead was blown off Westminster Abbey; and most of the lead on churches and

* Cunningham, i. 356, 7.

houses either rolled up in sheets, or loosened. Many houses of the nobility, in the city and liberties of Westminster, were very much shattered, as was Chelsea-College: and, in a word, few houses in London escaped without some terrible marks of the fury of the storm. In the river Thames, the Severn, and at sea, the wrecks that were made by it were a dismal spectacle every where, and the loss amounted to millions. Sir Cloudesley Shovel, who was then in the Downs, with some of the men of war that came from the Mediterranean, put to sea as soon as the storm began, and for many days was missing. Rear-Admiral Beaumont, who was on board the Mary, which he quitted when the ship was leaking, got upon a piece of her quarter deck, but was soon washed off and drowned. A sailor on board this ship, the only man that was saved out of the Mary, was tossed by the waves into the Stirling-Castle, which perished immediately, and he was as miraculously saved a second time, as I heard him tell the story himself, but have forgot the circumstances. The pious and learned Prelate, Dr. Richard Kidder, bishop of Bath and Wells, and his lady, were killed by the fall of part of the old episcopal palace at Wells. The bishop of London's sister, Lady Penelope Nicholas, was killed in a like manner at Horseley in Sussex, and Sir John Nicholas, her husband, grievously hurt. Sir Cloudesley Shovel arrived in the river in safety, and the ships that were with him; having rid out the remains of the tempest on the coasts of Holland. The damage in the city of London only was computed at near two millions; and at Bristol, not much less than two hundred thousand pounds.* "

Upon this sad occasion, the Commons voted an address to the queen, requesting her to give orders for repairing the loss sustained by the navy, with a promise to make

* Oldmixon's England, iii. 319.

good the same; and a proclamation was issued for a general fast, which, says Oldmixon, "was observed throughout England on the 19th of January, with more signs of devotion and sincerity than ever I saw any thing of that kind; the terror the tempest had left on the people's minds contributing much to their affectionate discharge of that religious duty." * It was scarcely to be expected, that so awful a calamity would be made the subject of profane mimicry upon the stage; yet so it was. The bishop of Oxford, alluding to the circumstance in his sermon before the Lords, represents it as "a daring affront to God, and a ridiculing of his judgments;" and adds, "that whilst these nurseries of lewdness are suffered to corrupt the age, it is in vain to hope to see it reformed." Multitudes of sermons were published upon the occasion, both by Churchmen and Dissenters, who made the event subservient to their zeal for the diffusion of practical piety. Amongst these discourses was "The Layman's Sermon upon the late Storm, held forth at an honest Coffee-House Conventicle; not so much a jest as 'tis thought to be. Printed in the year 1704." 4to. From a passage or two in the sermon, it is thought to have been the production of De Foe. (P)

* Oldmixon's England, iii. 320.

(P) Perhaps the most remarkable publication arising out of this event, in the shape of a sermon, which bore a due proportion to the length of its title, was "A Warning from the Winds. A sermon preached upon Wednesday, January xix. 1703—4, being the day of publick humiliation for the late terrible and awakening Storm of Wind, sent in great Rebuke upon this Kingdom, November 26, 27, 1703, and now set forth in some ground of it, to have been inflicted as a punishment of that general contempt in England, under Gospel-light, cast upon the Work of the Holy Ghost, the Third Person in the Blessed Trinity, as to his Divine Breathings upon the Souls of Men: Opened and Argued from John iii. 8. To which is subnected, a Laborious Exercitation upon Eph. ii. 2, about the Airy Oracles, Sybil-Prophetesses, Idolatry, and Sacrifices of the Elder Pagan Times, under the Influence of the God of this World, according to the Course of it, and as now differently working in the Children of Disobedience; to

But besides sermons, several narratives of the event were published. One of them printed soon afterwards, bears the following title: "An exact Relation of the late Dreadful Tempest: or, a faithful Account of the most Remarkable Disasters which happened on that occasion; the Places where, and Persons' Names who suffered by the same, in City and Country; the number of Ships, Men and Guns that were lost, the Miraculous Escapes of several Persons from the Dangers of that Calamity, both by Sea and Land. Faithfully collected by an Ingenious Hand, to preserve the Memory of so Terrible a Judgment. *Nos fatis agimur Variis: Contenditur fatis.* London, printed and sold by A. Baldwin, at the Oxford Arms, in Warwick Lane. 1704." pp. 24. The brevity of this tract did not allow of

defend this Text against the Common Mistake, that the Winds are raised by Satan, under the Divine Permission. By JOSEPH HUSSEY, Pastor of the Congregational Church of Cambridge; yet Publisher of the Truth of God's Word as he hath an opportunity to do good to all, and commanded so to do. Gal. vi. 10. Therefore have I hewed them by the Prophets; I have slain them by the Words of my Mouth. Hos. vi. 5. London; printed for William and Joseph Marshall, and sold by them at the Bible, in Newgate Street, 1704." 4to. pp. 119. To the lovers of minuteness, the matters set forth in this singular title, will be an ample compensation for its quaintness. But the sermon itself is no less curious; and this, whether we regard the phraseology of the writer, the subjects he discusses, or his mode of handling them. With a style formed after the bad taste of the older Puritans, and seasoned with the peculiarities of his religious creed, Hussey was nevertheless no common divine. His discourse presents a huge mass of learning, exhausted from the stores of Poets, Philosophers, Fathers, Schoolmen, Reformers, and Divines of all persuasions, British and Foreign, brought together for the purpose of illustrating his subject; either for confuting their errors, or for confirming his own criticisms. His account of the Pagan idolatry affords a strong proof of his skill and ingenuity; whilst it serves to shew the immense reading and various learning of the writer. The same remark will apply to his interpretations of scripture, which are often striking for their originality. The uses he makes of his subject are pious and practical; calculated to lead his readers through the doctrine of an over-ruling Providence, to those serious reflections that are suggested by the occasion. Hussey was at the same academy as De Foe, of nearly the same age, and probably his fellow-student.

much information; but as far as it goes, it is an affecting relation of the melancholy catastrophe that befel many private individuals, as well as of the damage that was sustained by the public at large.

It is to the pen of De Foe, that we are indebted for the completest account of this affair (Q). After being frequently announced for publication, it was published towards the end of July, with the following title: "The Storm; or, a Collection of the most remarkable Casualties and Disasters which happened in the late Dreadful Tempest, both by Sea and Land. *'The Lord hath his Way in the Whirlwind and in the Storm, and the Clouds are the Dust of his Feet.'* Neh. i. 3. London, printed for G. Sawbridge in Little Britain, and sold by J. Nutt, near Stationer's Hall. 1704." 8vo. pp. 272 (R).

In a preface of some length, to which he subscribes himself "The Age's humble servant;" De Foe forewarns his

(Q) It is thus announced in the *Review* for July 25, 1704. "Whereas notice has been given in the Gazette and other papers, of a collection then making of all the Remarkable Accidents of the late Dreadful Storm; the said book is now in the press, and will be published next week, from the most authentic accounts sent up from almost all parts of the kingdom, by several curious gentlemen, especially of the clergy, according to the invitations of the aforesaid advertisements: Together with the particular losses in the Navy. Printed for George Sawbridge in Little Britain, and sold by J. Nutt, near Stationer's-Hall." In the following number for July 29, it is announced as "Just Published."

(R) The later copies of this work were sent abroad with a new title, probably to help the sale. It is as follows: "A Collection of the most remarkable Casualties and Disasters which happened in the late Dreadful Tempest, both by sea and land, on Friday the 26th of Nov. 1703. To which is added, several very surprising deliverances; The Natural Causes and Original of Winds; of the Opinion of the Ancients that this Island was more subject to Storms than other parts of the World. With several other curious observations upon the Storm. The whole divided into chapters, under proper heads. The Second Edition. London, Printed for George Sawbridge, at the Three Golden Flower-de-lys, in Little Britain, and J. Nutt in the Savoy. Price, bound, 3*s*. 6*d*.

readers, that he shall have to relate many stories which in their own nature may seem incredible, and therefore liable to be questioned by a great part of mankind; but as he was not insensible to the proper duty of an historian, so he was particularly careful to ascertain the truth of what he conveyed to posterity. He tells us, that the practical improvement he had made of his narrative, was an ample security for his fidelity. The subject was too solemn to admit of imposture, which he should be justly chargeable with, were he to preach repentance from forged documents. His main inference from the event was, "The strong evidence God had been pleased to give in this terrible manner to his own Being, which mankind began more than ever to affront and despise; and I cannot," says he, "but have so much charity for the worst of my fellow-creatures, that I believe no man was so hardened against his Maker, but he felt some shocks to his wicked confidence from the convulsions of nature."

Upon this subject, De Foe feels at home, and writes with eloquence. "Certainly, Atheism is one of the most irrational principles in the world. There is something in it incongruous with human policy; because there is a risk in the mistake one way, and none another. If the christian is mistaken, and it should at last appear that there is no future state, God or Devil, reward or punishment, where is the harm of it? All he has lost is, that he has practised a few needless mortifications, and took the pains to live a little more like a man than he would have done. But if the Atheist is mistaken, he has brought all the powers whose being he denies upon his back, has provoked the Infinite in the highest manner, and must at last sink under the anger of him whose nature he has disowned. Certainly, a wise man would never run such an unequal risk. No gamester will set at such a main; no man will lay such a wager, where he may lose, but cannot win. There is another

unhappy misfortune in the mistake too, that it can never be discovered till it is too late to remedy. He that resolves to die an Atheist, shuts the door against being convinced in time."

For the sake of order, our author divides his work into chapters, and in those that are introductory, he discusses some curious points for the elucidation of his subject. In descanting upon "The Natural Causes and Original of Winds," he has some pious remarks upon the vanity of human philosophy, which has never accounted satisfactorily for the phenomena, and leads him to conclude, "that there seems to be more of God in the whole appearance, than in any other part of operating nature." He observes, that "we never enquire after God in those works of nature, which, depending upon the course of things, are plain and demonstrative; but where we find her defective in her discovery, and see effects but cannot reach their causes, nature plainly refers us beyond herself, to the mighty hand of infinite power, the Author of nature, and Original of all causes. Among these *arcana* of the sovereign economy, the winds are laid as far back as any. Those ancient men of genius, who rifled nature by the torch-light of reason, even to her very nudities, have been run a-ground in this unknown channel; the wind has blown out the candle of reason, and left them all in the dark.—The deepest search into the region of cause and consequence, has found out just enough to leave the wisest philosopher in the dark—to bewilder his head, and drown his understanding. You raise a storm in nature by the very inquiry; and at last, to be rid of you, she confesses the truth, and tells you, *It is not in me: you must go home and ask my father.* Whether then, it be the motion of air, and what that air is, which as yet is undefined; whether it is a dilation, a previous contraction, and then violent extension, as in gunpowder; whether the motion is direct, circular, or oblique; whether it be an exhalation repulsed by the middle

region, and the *antiperistasis* of that part of the heavens which is set as a wall of brass to bind up the atmosphere, and keep it within its proper compass for the functions of respiration, condensing, and rarifying, without which nature would be all in confusion; whatever are their efficient causes, 'tis not much to the immediate design. 'Tis apparent, that God Almighty, whom the philosophers care as little as possible to have any thing to do with, seems to have reserved this as one of those secrets in nature, which should more directly guide them to himself. Not but a philosopher may be a Christian; and some of the best of the latter have been the best of the former: as Vossius, Sir Walter Raleigh, Lord Verulam, Dr. Harvey, and others; and I wish I could say Mr. Hobbes, for 'tis pity there should lie any just exceptions to the piety of a man who had so few of his general knowledge, and an exalted spirit in philosophy."

In his chapter, "Of the opinion of the ancients, that this island was more subject to storms than other parts of the world:" our author urges a variety of ingenious arguments to overthrow the notion, and traces it partly to the state of the island, before it was drained and enclosed by the industry of the inhabitants; and partly to the ignorance of the ancients in the art of navigation. Upon these subjects he displays considerable research, and brings forward a variety of particulars that are well deserving the attention of the reader. Amidst his numerous engagements as a political writer, it is evident that our author found time to cultivate a taste for ancient literature; but he makes no affected display of his learning, and brings it forward as the occasion calls for, with becoming modesty. From the portion of the work already noticed, the reader will perceive the justice of the following eulogium passed upon it by Mr. Chalmers. "In explaining the natural causes of winds, De Foe shews more science, and in delivering the opinions of the ancients that this island was more subject to storms than

other parts of the world, he displays more literature, than he has been generally supposed to possess. Our author is moreover entitled to yet higher praise. He seized that awful occasion to inculcate the fundamental truths of religion; the being of a God, the superintendency of Providence, the certainty of heaven and hell, the one to reward, the other to punish."*

The remainder of the work is taken up in describing the effects of the storm in different parts of the country. "It is impossible," he says, "to express the concern that appeared in every place. The distraction and fury of the night was visible in the faces of the people, and every body's first work was to visit and inquire after their friends and relatives. The next day or two was almost entirely spent in the curiosity of the people, in viewing the havock the storm had made, which was so universal in London, and especially in the out-ports, that nothing can be said sufficient to describe it." In the country, the havoc was equally visible; trees of long growth being blown down in many places by thousands, and the orchards in the western counties participating in the general destruction.

The materials upon which De Foe founded the work, consist chiefly of letters from the clergy, and other principal inhabitants of the parishes to which the narrative relates. These are mostly presented in their documentary form, which, whilst they give it the stamp of authenticity, prevented those excursions of genius that distinguish the other writings of the author. Some parts of the work, however, clearly show that the writer had begun to unfold those powers of invention, which he afterwards carried to such great perfection. There are passages which would lead the reader to suppose that he was an eye-witness of the scenes he describes (s). But he

* Life of De Foe, p. 22.

(s) "The author of this relation," says he, "was in a well-built brick house in the skirts of the city; and a stack of chimnies falling in upon the

was then a prisoner in Newgate, and could not have access to the places; so that he must be supposed to have indulged in the licence of personating his information for the purpose of giving greater effect to his narrative. The circumstantiality of his details, and the excessive reality that accompanies them, will remind the reader of some of his later performances. With his usual felicity, he takes frequent occasion to inculcate the truths of religion, and to awaken attention to the subject by the hair-breadth escapes to which many were exposed in the calamity.

next houses, gave the house such a shock, that they thought it was just coming down upon their heads. But opening the door to attempt an escape into the garden, the danger was so apparent, that they all thought fit to surrender to the disposal of Almighty Providence, and expect their graves in the ruins of the house, rather than to meet most certain destruction in the open garden. For unless they could have gone above two hundred yards from any building, there had been no security; for the force of the wind blew the tiles point-blank, though their weight inclines them downwards. In several broad streets, we saw the windows broken by the flying of tile-shreds from the other side; and when there was room for them to fly, the author of this has seen tiles blown from a house above thirty or forty yards, and stuck from five to eight inches into the solid earth." In another place, he says, "The collector of these sheets narrowly escaped mischief by the fall of part of a house on the evening of Wednesday the 24th." He also tells us, "the mercury in the barometer had sunk lower than he ever observed on any former occasion, which made him suppose the tube had been handled and disturbed by the children." He then refers to the more accurate observations of Mr. Derham; "the disorders of that dreadful night," says he, "having found me other employment, expecting every moment when the house I was in would bury us all in its own ruins."

CHAPTER XIII.

Harley's Negociation with De Foe in Prison.—The Queen sends Relief to his Family.—And remits his Fine.—His Account of the steps taken for his Release.—And his obligations to Harley.—He is discharged from Prison.—And retires to Bury St. Edmunds.—Publishes An Elegy upon himself.—State of the Difference between Rooke and Colepeper.—De Foe publishes a "Hymn to Victory."—Remarks upon it by a Tory Writer.—His vindication.—Asgill's Argument upon Translation.—Ridiculed by the Wits.—His Injurious Treatment.—He is answered by De Foe.—Account of his Work.—Vexatious Conduct of De Foe's Enemies.—His account of a Hoax practised upon him.

1704.

THE foregoing pages will testify that the mind of De Foe was not subdued by the terrors of a prison. With talents so rich and diversified, it is not surprising that he should be considered a desirable ally by any party in the state. The Tories, mortified by his wit, and smarting under the pungency of his satire, laboured hard to enlist him upon their side; but he preferred poverty to the shame of serving a cause that his soul abhorred. He was, therefore, left in prison when their administration expired. Upon the accession of Mr. Harley to office, he wisely judged that a writer of De Foe's talents and perseverance would be of essential service to the new ministers, if they could be brought to their support; and as his own politics were in the main not dissimilar to those of De Foe, he had reason to expect a more favourable attention han his predecessors. He accordingly made a private com-

munication to him with that view; but no arrangement seems to have taken place between them, as De Foe continued in prison some months afterwards. It was to this minister's influence, however, that he eventually owed his release. "Harley," observes Mr. Chalmers, "approved probably of the principles and conduct of De Foe, and doubtless foresaw, that during a factious age, such a genius might be converted to many uses."* It was most likely through the same medium that the queen became acquainted with his merits, and was made conscious of the injustice of his punishment, which she now appeared desirous to mitigate. For this purpose, she sent some relief to his wife and family, through her treasurer, the Lord Godolphin; and transmitted to him a sufficient sum for the payment of his fine, and the expences attending his discharge from prison.

The obligations he was under to some persons in power, for their attention to him during his confinement, and the sense of gratitude that he entertained for their services, are thus detailed by himself, and are intended as an apology for his subsequent political conduct.

"In the interval of these things, and during the heat of the first fury of high-flying, I fell a sacrifice for writing against the rage and madness of that high party, and in the service of the Dissenters. What justice I met with, and above all, what mercy, is too well known to need a repetition. This introduction is made that it may bring me to what has been the foundation of all my further concern in publick affairs, and will produce a sufficient reason for my adhering to those whose obligations upon me were too strong to be resisted, even when many things were done by them which I could not approve; and for this reason it is that I think it necessary to distinguish how far I did or did not adhere to, or join in or with the persons or conduct of the late govern-

* Chalmers' Life of De Foe, p. 23.

ment: and those who are willing to judge with impartiality and charity, will see reason to use me the more tenderly in their thoughts, when they weigh the particulars.

"I will make no reflections upon the treatment I met with from the people I suffered for, or how I was abandoned even in my sufferings, at the same time that they acknowledged the service I had been to their cause; but I must mention it to let you know, that while I lay friendless and distressed in the prison of Newgate, my family ruined, and myself without hope of deliverance, a message was brought me from a person of honour, who, till that time, I had never had the least acquaintance with, or knowledge of, other than by fame, or by sight, as we know men of quality by seeing them on public occasions. I gave no present answer to the person who brought it, having not duly weighed the import of the message. The message was by word of mouth thus: 'Pray, ask that gentleman what I can do for him?' But in return to this kind and generous message, I immediately took my pen and ink, and writ the story of the blind man in the gospel, who followed our Saviour, and to whom our blessed Lord put the question, 'What will thou that I should do unto thee?' Who, as if he had made it strange that such a question should be asked, or as if he had said, Lord, dost thou see that I am blind, and yet ask me what thou shall do for me? My answer is plain in my misery, *Lord, that I may receive my sight.* I needed not to make the application. And from this time, although I lay four months in prison after this, and heard no more of it, yet from this time, as I learned afterwards, this noble person made it his business to have my case represented to her majesty, and methods taken for my deliverance. I mention this part, because I am no more to forget the obligation upon me to the queen, than to my first benefactor.

"When her majesty came to have the truth of the case laid before her, I soon felt the effects of her royal goodness

and compassion. And first, her majesty declared, That she left allthat matter to a certain person, and did not think he would have used me in such a manner. Her majesty was pleased particularly to inquire into my circumstances and family, and by my Lord-treasurer Godolphin, to send a considerable supply to my wife and family, and to send me the prison money to pay my fine, and the expences of my discharge. Whether this be a just foundation let my enemies judge.

"Gratitude and fidelity are inseparable from an honest man. But, to be thus obliged by a stranger, by a man of quality and honour, and after that by the sovereign under whose administration I was suffering, let any one put himself in my stead, and examine upon what principles I could ever act against either such a queen, or such a benefactor; and what must my own heart reproach me with, what blushes must have covered my face when I had looked in, and called myself ungrateful to him that saved me thus from distress? Or her that fetched me out of the dungeon, and gave my family relief? Let any man who knows what principles are, what engagements of honour and gratitude are, make this case his own, and say what I could have done less or more than I have done."* It should be recollected to the honour of De Foe, that these grateful sentiments came warm from his heart, at a time when he could have no expectation of preferment from either of the parties; for Queen Anne was then lifeless in the grave, and Harley in the Tower, with an impeachment hanging over his head for his late political conduct.

The great enemy of De Foe, alluded to in the foregoing narrative, was the Earl of Nottingham, who made use of his official power to inflict that vengeance upon our author which he would have gladly extended to the whole body of Whigs

* Appeal to Honour and Justice, p. 11—14.

and Dissenters. Bred in the lap of toryism and high-church principles, it is not surprising that his lordship should have lent himself to the cause of persecution. Those princes are, perhaps, the most to blame who employ such ministers; but the people are most of all to be pitied, who are made the sport of their narrow and vindictive feelings.

By the powerful interposition before mentioned, De Foe obtained his release in the beginning of August 1704, and through the same interest procured an honourable employment under the new administration, which he discharged with credit to himself, and to the satisfaction of his employers, so long as they continued in power. This part of his history is thus detailed by himself:—

"Being delivered from the distress I was in, her majesty, who was not satisfied to do me good by a single act of her bounty, had the goodness to think of taking me into her service, and I had the honour to be employed in several honourable, though secret services, by the interposition of my first benefactor, who then appeared as a member in the public administration. I had the happiness to discharge myself in all these trusts, so much to the satisfaction of those who employed me, though oftentimes with difficulty and danger, that my Lord-treasurer Godolphin, whose memory I have always honoured, was pleased to continue his favour to me, and to do me all good offices with her majesty, even after an unhappy breach had separated him from my first benefactor."* This narrative of De Foe's connexion with Harley and Godolphin, will be renewed hereafter.

As well to avoid the town-talk, as to breathe a salubrious air after so long a confinement, De Foe retired immediately to Bury St. Edmunds, "a town famed for its pleasant situation and wholesome air, the Montpelier of Suffolk, and perhaps of England; famous also for the number of gentry

* Appeal, &c. p. 14.

who reside in the vicinity, and for the polite and agreeable conversation of the company resorting there."* In this desirable retreat, De Foe passed some considerable time, amusing his leisure hours by composing new works for the press.

The first publication after his release, was a poem written during his confinement, and adapted to his own circumstances at the time. It is called "An Elegy on the Author of 'The True-Born Englishman.' With an Essay on the late Storm. By the Author of the 'Hymn to the Pillory.' London: printed in the year 1704." 4to. pp. 56. In the preface, he complains loudly of the ill-usage he was continually receiving from the pamphleteers of the day. "Had the scribbling world been pleased to leave me where they found me," says he, "I had left them and Newgate both together; and as I am metaphorically dead, had been effectually so as to satyrs and pamphlets. 'Tis really something hard, that after all the mortification they think they have put upon a poor abdicated author, in their scurrilous street-ribaldry and bear-garden usage, some in prose and some in their terrible lines they call verse, they cannot yet be quiet; but whenever any thing comes out that does not please them, I come in for a share in the answer, whatever I did in the question. Every thing they think an author deserves to be abused for, must be mine. Several plentiful showers of raillery I have quietly submitted to, and thought I had a talent of patience as large as might serve me in common with my neighbours; but there is a time when a man can bear no longer, and if the man is in a little passion, he thinks he ought to be borne with. I tried retirement, and banished myself from the town. I thought, as the boys used to say, 'twas but fair they should let me alone, while I did not meddle with them. But, neither a country recess, any more than a stone doublet, can secure

* Tour through Gr. Brit. I. Let. i. p. 71.

a man from the clamour of the pen." This treatment was the more ungenerous, as he considered himself dead in law; his hands being tied under penalties and securities not to write; "at least," says he, "not to write what some people may not like; and if this be not equivalent to being dead, as to the pen, I know not what is." In allusion to his hardships, he says,

> "Of all the men that ever died before,
> Mine's the severest case;
> The grave till now was always taken for
> A place of peace:
> But I, as if some secret power I had,
> Give bond to be at quiet when I'm dead;
> My enemies are not content to kill,
> But take security that I'll lye still.
> Jealous, it seems, my busy head
> Should make me talk when I am dead."

De Foe intimates that it is easy to ascertain the author of a book; "But for a man to be charged with other men's faults, who has too many of his own, is a method newly practised, and more upon him than upon any body. And yet," says he, "the grief of this usage does not strike so deep upon me, but that I may tell my antagonists, if they think themselves deserving that name, that they are very welcome to go on their own way, and use me as they please; I shall always be ready to reply, or, by my silence, let them see that I do not think it worth my while."

Although the politics of De Foe had hitherto identified him with the Whigs, yet he does not appear ever to have been much in their favour; nor do they seem to have exerted themselves in any way to mitigate his sufferings. The Tories, indeed, had spread a report of their having come forward to his assistance; but how untrue this was, we learn from himself. Having noticed the report, and the little generosity he ever experienced from that party, he says:—

"So I, by Whigs abandoned, bear
The Satyr's unjust lash;
Dye with the scandal of their help,
But never saw their cash."

If it should be asked, whether he had been fairly treated? and why seven years were imposed upon him? he refers to the conduct of the lawyers, by whom he had been sacrificed; and he exhorts others to take warning by his example.

"If e'er I come to life again,
Coleman for that; I'll put no faith in man.
I that did on fair quarter yield,
Laid down my arms and left the field,
Did from my own defence withdraw,
Thinking that honesty was law;
Have lost my rhyming life by this deceit;
And I deserve it for my want of wit.
Had I remembered days of yore,
When we complained of arbitrary power,
When lawyers were the tools of state,
And hurried men to hasty fate.
When the great engine was screwed up too high,
And men were hanged they knew not why.
Had I remembered Scroggs's fame,
And known that lawyers are in ev'ry reign the same.
I ne'er had ventured to believe
Men whose profession's to deceive.

"*Memento Mori*, here I stand.
With silent lips, but speaking hand,
A walking shadow of a poet,
But bound to hold my tongue, and never shew it.
A monument of injury,
A sacrifice to legal tyranny."

During his retirement in the country, De Foe amused himself by composing several works of more or less importance, arising out of the incidents of the day. Although at a distance from London, the coffee-houses, of which there was one in most of the large towns, afforded him regular intelligence of

public events, of which his active mind availed itself to turn to some good account.

A private quarrel, which took place at this time between Sir George Rooke and Mr. William Colepeper, mentioned in the first volume, gave rise to a publication, which Leslie, in his "Rehearsals," ascribes upon general report to De Foe. It is intitled, "A True State of the Difference between Sir George Rooke, Knt., and William Colepeper, Esq.; together with an Account of the Trial between Mr. Nathaniel Denew, Mr. Robert Britton, and Mr. Merriam, before the Right Honourable Sir John Holt, Knt., Lord Chief Justice of England, on an Indictment for the designs and attempts therein mentioned, against the Life of the said William Colepeper, on behalf of the said Sir George Rooke. Sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster, 1704." Folio. pp. 44. It is advertised in the *Review* for the 22d of August; but it is doubtful whether Mr. Colepeper himself was not the author. Perhaps De Foe may have had the revisal of it. The quarrel appears to have arisen out of political enmities, which both parties carried to an unjustifiable extent. In consequence of some reflections thrown out by Mr. Colepeper upon Sir George's naval prowess, the case was taken up by several of his friends, who resolved to vindicate his honour by venturing their own lives in the cause. Several challenges were sent to Mr. Colepeper, by Sir George Rooke, and the other persons mentioned in the indictment; but which he appears to have declined or disregarded. They therefore way-laid him in the public streets, and committed the assault, for which they were brought to trial; and Mr. Denew, the assailant, was found guilty. The charge against the other defendants of a conspiracy with a design to assassinate the plaintiff, was dismissed. The cause of Mr. Colepeper was taken up with great spirit by De Foe, in several of his *Reviews;* as was that of Sir George Rooke, by Leslie, in

his "Rehearsals." Many hard words passed upon both sides; but no blood was let by any of the parties. Mr. Colepeper seems to have entertained a very high opinion of De Foe. In the above pamphlet, he says, "He could never come up to any hard opinion concerning Mr. De Foe for his 'Shortest Way with the Dissenters,' in which case he interested himself with the queen on his behalf." He adds, "W. C. is not afraid of having his judgment called in question by affirming, that the world has not in any age produced a man beyond Mr. De Foe, for his miraculous fancy, and lively invention, in all his writings, both verse and prose."

The successes of the English army, under the Duke of Marlborough, in the preceding summer, had furnished the poets of the age with a prolific subject for the exercise of their muse. De Foe was not backward in contributing his share to the general stock, and produced upon the 29th of August, "A Hymn to Victory. London: Printed for J. Nutt, near Stationer's Hall, 1704." 4to. pp. 52. He has six pages of dedication to the queen, also in verse, and to these he has affixed his name—a thing not usual with him. Towards the conclusion of the poem, some lines are addressed to the successful hero, to whom, as well as to the queen, he pays some handsome compliments, and ascribes the success of our arms, under providence, to the recent political changes in the government.

The "Hymn to Victory" was no sooner published than pirated; the spurious editions being closely printed upon a single sheet of coarse paper, for the purpose of cheap distribution. This, as might be expected, gave no little vexation to the author, not merely as diminishing his profits, of which he then stood in much need, but as injurious to his reputation, from their incorrectness. Being unable to prevent this invasion of his labours, he was obliged to content himself

with cautioning the public against the imposition, which he does in several of his *Reviews*. (T) The first edition of the work being soon disposed of, De Foe advertised a second genuine edition, in his *Review* for the ninth of September.

Many satires were now levelled at him by the Tories, for the praises he bestows in this work upon the queen, and upon Marlborough, who were now as much the objects of their hatred, as they had been formerly of their commendation. In the "History of Faction," is the following libel upon our author, and it is quoted for the purpose of showing the false colouring of party, which was ever active in misrepresenting the most innocent actions of his life. "De Foe, another deep-mouthed scandal-monger, employed by the party, was to rhyme his grace into a good opinion of their respects to him at his arrival; and the 'Hymn to Victory' came out to show they never made any question to rail against a dead benefactor, to get into the good will of a living enemy; for their former treatment had given him an occasion to be so. King William was no more than a *Jack-a-Nokes*, or *Tom-a-Stiles*, now; the goddess *Victoria* had been banished from these kingdoms during his glorious reign, and was returned to make her compliments of congratulation to this; and they would be the first to perpetuate his memory with

(T) In his *Review* for Sept. 2, 1704, De Foe writes thus: "Whereas, a poem, intitled 'A Hymn to Victory,' by the author of the 'True-Born Englishman,' and dedicated to the queen, and published this week, is newly printed by a common fellow in that way: This is to give notice, that the whole is so full of faults, the sense so mangled, and some lines altered very near to blasphemy, that care is taken to suppress the sale of it, and a prosecution ordered against the printer." In the next *Review* for Sept. 5, he advertises the work, with the following notice of the piracies: "A Hymn to Victory. By the Author of the 'True-Born Englishman;' and dedicated to the queen. Printed for John Nutt, near Stationers' Hall. Price 1*s*. There are three sorts of counterfeits or shams, called by the same title: one is a half-sheet, another a whole sheet, and the third a sheet and a half. The counterfeits are full of faults, the sense mangled, and several lines altered—in some, near to blasphemy."

the noble present of Woodstock, and the manor of Wootton, in hopes the church party would be against donations of that nature, as they were in the beginning of her majesty's reign; but they found themselves altogether mistaken; their antagonists were as ready to do justice to merit as they were, and closed with them, *nem. con.* at the first motion." So far from being forgetful of William's merits, De Foe takes occasion to revive the recollection of them in this poem, and observes, that his success in the field would have been greater than it was, had it not been for the treachery of his ministers, who betrayed his councils, obstructed his supplies, and afterwards diverted them to the gratification of their own avarice.

> "Some staid at home our councils to betray,
> Some bravely went abroad to run away."

De Foe's pen was next exercised upon a subject that needlessly occupied the attention of parliament, and was made of more importance, both by divines and politicians, than it really demanded.

John Asgill, a gentleman who had already distinguished himself by his learning and ingenuity, having his attention directed to the study of divinity, had adopted a theory upon the subject of death, and a future state, which, however absurd, was fortified by precedents, and was, to say the worst of it, but an innocent delusion. Unhappily for himself, he lived at a period when the smallest deviation from orthodoxy was regarded by theologians as an offence that demanded a visitation from the civil power. This irrational mode of confuting error, so disgraceful to learning, and so foreign to the spirit of christianity, was resorted to in the case of Asgill, who evinced its futility by adhering to his opinions.

The obnoxious doctrine propounded by Asgill, was contained in a pamphlet with the following title: "An Argument, proving, that according to the Covenant of Eternal

Life, revealed in the Scriptures, Man may be translated from hence into that Eternal Life, without passing through death, although the Human Nature of Christ himself could not be thus translated till he had passed through death. *Anno Dom.* 1700." 8vo. pp. 106. The first edition being soon disposed of, a second was called for; but not being revised by the author, it was less correct than the former.

The work was no sooner published, than a general clamour was raised against the author, as an infidel and a blasphemer; but Asgill had said nothing to warrant these charges. By far-fetched deductions from his book, Leslie and others laboured hard to prove that he was a mortalist, an unbeliever, a disciple of Menander, and that, dying in his opinions, he could not be saved. Sacheverell became alarmed for the safety of the church, and stupidly proclaimed its danger; whilst the wits of the day made Asgill's argument the subject of their mirth and ridicule. In the state poems there are some Hudibrastic lines, called "The way to Heaven in a String; or, Mr. Asgill's Argument burlesqued." His biographer remarks it, as not a "little strange, that almost all the world should conclude Mr. Asgill to be an Atheist, because he took so much pains with religion." He adds, "The truth seems to be, that he was a violent enthusiast, and having studied the scriptures in his mother-tongue, and without consulting any commentators, he in consequence frequently mistook the meaning; this led him to believe so much, that those who believed less, in order to vindicate themselves, would needs have it, that he did not believe at all."* This redundancy of faith was the cause of as much trouble to Asgill, as the deficiency of it has been to many others: for, his fame reaching Ireland, where he had been chosen a member of the House of Commons, an order was made for his expulsion, with a pro-

* Biog. Brit.—Art. Asgill.

vision that he should be hereafter incapable of sitting in the House.

De Foe took a much better method of confuting his opinions, in a pamphlet published towards the end of September, and intitled "An Inquiry into the Case of Mr. Asgill's General Translation: shewing that it is not a nearer Way to Heaven than the Grave. By the Author of the 'True-Born Englishman.' 2 Thess. 2. 11. '*And for this Cause God shall send them strong delusions.*' London: Printed and sold by J. Nutt, near Stationers' Hall, 1704." 8vo. pp. 48. Dedicated, "To the Honourable the Commons of Ireland assembled in Parliament:" with his name at full length.

De Foe observes, that his work had been not only written but printed three years before; when, finding the notion dying away, and that it shocked people's reason more than their faith, he thought fit to lay it aside, as apprehending no danger to religion. "The system of translation which the author has advanced," says he, "met with so little encouragement here, that people began to question the author's understanding, and look on it as pious lunacy, rather than a doctrine with foundation enough to deserve an inquiry: and though I myself was of another opinion, as knowing the author to be a man as far from distraction, and as much master of argument, as most men can pretend to; yet at the same time, I thought I saw an easy way of unriddling the *ænigma* he has stated in the world." De Foe adds, that he should have continued to observe silence upon the subject, if the author of the "Argument" had not thought fit to spread "his fine-spun" notion in Ireland, which had induced him to revive his suppressed papers. Concerning the author, he says, "I am not of the opinion as I find many people are, that Mr. Asgill, the author of this new doctrine, is mad, an enthusiast, an atheist, and the like. Nor do I find any thing like an undervaluing the virtue of the death of Christ in his book, which others tax him with. Something in his style,

which is singular, may give offence, by seeming too free, as treating the sacred subject with less ingenuity than is decent. This may be an error in good manners, but it is not *error mentis*, and may be easily forgiven an author so full of mercury. Few people, I believe, have seriously and considerately read his book; and they who censure him without it, are like Solomon's fool, and judge of a matter before they hear it."

The method taken by our author in answering this fanciful treatise, is not so much to prove the negative—that man cannot be translated as to shew that, if it were even possible, he would not be one jot the better, and that the common road of death, as Mr. Asgill terms it, is not out of the way. He allows the possibility of being translated to heaven without dying, as was the case with Enoch and Elijah, and will be so with those believers who are found upon the earth in the latter days. "That faith which removes mountains, though it be in itself but as a grain of mustard-seed, can do any thing in the hands of Omnipotence:" And "so this gift of translation," says he, "being an *arcana* of Providence, reserved in the hands of the Almighty, may be possible, but cannot be any part of the purchase of Christ, and therefore not attainable by faith in him." He thinks it plain, that his author has both mistaken the nature of faith, and misplaced it. "He has mistaken faith, by calling that so which has no foundation on the promises of God, which can only give it a legitimacy; and he has misplaced it, by applying it to what there is no scripture authority to expect. All the method he proposes for obtaining this sublime faith, is, to make it familiar by study." This, observes De Foe, is a new and untrodden path; but the scripture is full of directions for attaining to faith by other means. Study, he says, may be useful in helping us to solve the phenomena of nature, and in giving us a clearer understanding of things already known. "But when we pore upon the sacred mysteries of religion, with the mathematical engines of reason, they make such incoherent

stuff of it as would make one pity them. These are things which were foolishness to the old Greeks, who, by all their study and philosophy, could make neither head nor tail of them. People who by study resolve to represent things to their fancies, so as to make them easy and familiar, ought first to be very sure they shall not misrepresent them, and by forming wrong ideas in their minds, come into the number of those who are given up to believe lies. I can see nothing in this new way of obtaining faith, that gives me the least encouragement as to its possibility. Faith uncircumscribed by the revealed will of God, is preposterous and eccentrick." In expressing his own sense of the subject, De Foe lays it down as a scriptural doctrine, "That faith is the gift of the Almighty, and is only to be obtained by earnest prayer, joined with humiliation, exprest in scripture by fasting. That this humble prayer must be directed with submission to the will of God; and that where that will is already revealed, we are tacitly prescribed, and forbidden to ask. This I take to be such a basis, that other foundation no man can lay."

A considerable part of the work is taken up in examining the scripture-history of the fall and redemption of man, for the purpose of ascertaining "the will of God concerning our way of passing from this life to eternity." De Foe contends, that the penalty for the first transgression, was primarily of a moral nature, and reached to temporal death only as a previous condition of our nature. "It is appointed unto all men once to die; not as a punishment, but as a natural appendix to the species of bodies; as nature is degenerate by the curse left on the whole creation, of which every material substance is a part. The voice of nature obeys the voice of God. Death is an unquestioned consequence of life; for what has a beginning, must and will have an end. And whereas Mr. Asgill, to make out his opinion, is fain to bury the soul with the body—an opinion long since exploded; it is more rational to believe a world of spirits, whose pre-existent state resolves all doubt concerning death and the resurrection."

In conclusion, he observes, "Since it is plain that eternal life is the port, I regard not the passage. Be it by death, 'tis the way the God of nature directed, and what nature points to. Let those that think there is a nearer way seek it; for my part, though 'tis true, they may at last find the beaten road of death blind-fold, yet they may lose a great deal of time in the search, and fall into the old road when they don't think of it. I am sure I have no time to spare; if there be another way, I trust God will reveal it, and till he does, I am content to go the way of my fathers; not because it was their way only, but because, for aught I see, the sting and victory being gone, death and the grave have as direct a tendency to that change, which I am sure must be wrought as by a fiery chariot. I am sure I am not fit to be in heaven in these clothes; and therefore, so I am but changed and brought thither,

Ad te quacunque Vocas Ducissme Jesu.

"But for translation directly, the Scripture says nothing of the matter, nor does the nature of the thing require it. If I, therefore, should go the way of an eagle in the air, as Mr. Asgill calls it, instead of showing myself a match for the old gentleman, I should expect all the world would say he had carried me away alive."

The foregoing abstract of De Foe's argument will serve to show, not only the versatility of his genius, but the solidity of his mind, when attracted to religious subjects. Although trade and politics had engrossed so much of his time and attention, they had not obliterated his early theological studies, for which he always preserved a taste. As a critic and commentator upon the Scriptures, he often shows great judgment as well as acuteness, and writes with an earnest seriousness that befitted the gravity of his subject. Unlike the railing theologians of his day, he treats a whimsical writer with decency and good manners; confines himself closely to the

subject in dispute, and never allows his zeal for orthodoxy to detract from the character, or draw unwarrantable conclusions from the premises of his opponent. Although it was a subject upon which a writer of less seriousness would have employed his wit, he paid more homage to the cause with which it was connected, than to indulge in a talent which he knew so well how to wield upon proper occasions.(u)

De Foe had scarcely escaped from the terrors of a prison, before new scandals were raised by his enemies for the purpose of mortifying him. Whilst he was enjoying himself in his retreat from the bustle of the metropolis, and quietly pursuing his literary occupations, some of the news-writers propagated a report that he was fled from justice, and that warrants were out for his apprehension. Quite conscious that he had committed no new trespass, he was not at all alarmed at this unmannerly proceeding, but wrote immediately to the Secretary of State, informing him where he was to be found, and that he would present himself in person upon the first notice. But he received a friendly and pacific answer, telling him that he was not wanted, and had nothing to fear. Whether wit or malice was at the bottom of this affair, a joke of this serious nature would be visited in our days with the gravity of a legal punishment. Let us now hear De Foe's own account of his wrongs.

In his *Review* for October 7, 1704, he writes thus:—"Whereas, the author of this paper has been, and still is, in

(u) The notion of Asgill has been revived by a learned writer in our own day. Dr. Adam Clarke, in his Commentary upon Genesis, v. 22, has the following note upon Enoch's translation: "The astonishing heighth of piety to which he had arrived; being cleansed from all filthiness of the flesh and of the spirit, and having perfected holiness in the fear of God, we find, not only his soul, but his body refined, so that without being obliged to visit the empire of death, he was capable of immediate translation into the paradise of God. There are few cases of this kind on record; but probably there might be more, many more, were the followers of God more faithful to the grace they receive."

the country, upon his extraordinary and lawful occasions, and some persons maliciously and scandalously reported, and caused it to be written in news-letters, that he is absconded and fled from justice: he gives this notice to all persons whom it may concern, that he knows no guilt for which he has any occasion to fly; so, as soon as ever he saw in the written news the malice of the world, he took care to give public notice to the government where he is, and shall always be ready to show himself to the faces of his enemies, let the occasion be what it will."

The slander being repeated, he published the following notice in his *Review* for November 4, in which he traces it to its authors: "Whereas, in several written news-letters dispersed about the country, and supposed to be written by one Dyer, a news writer, and by Mr. Fox, bookseller in Westminster-Hall, it has falsely, and of mere malice, been scandalously asserted, that Daniel De Foe was absconded, and fled from justice; that he had been searched for by messengers, could not be found, and more the like scoundrel expressions; the said Daniel De Foe hereby desires all people who are willing not to be imposed upon by the like villanous practices, to take notice, that the whole story is a mere genuine forgery, industriously and maliciously contrived, if possible, to bring him into trouble; that the said Daniel De Foe, being at St. Edmund's Bury, in Suffolk, when the first of these papers appeared, immediately wrote to both her majesty's Secretaries of State, to acquaint them with his being in the country on his lawful occasions, and to let them know, that on the least intimation from them, he would come up by post, and put himself into their hands, to answer any charge that should be brought against him. That as soon as his business was over in the country, he made his humble complaint of this unprecedented usage to the Secretary of State, and had the honour to understand, that no officer, messenger, or other person, had received any

order, warrant, or other direction, to search for, apprehend, or otherwise disturb the said Daniel De Foe, or that there was any complaint, or charges brought against him. And further, having been informed, that Mr. Robert Stephens, the messenger, had reported that he had an order or power from the Secretaries of State, to stop and detain the said Daniel De Foe, and that he made several inquiries after him to that purpose; the said Daniel De Foe hereby gives notice, that as soon as he came to town, and before his application to the Secretary of State, he went, and in the presence of sufficient witnesses, spoke with the said Robert Stephens the messenger, as he calls himself, of the press, and offering himself into his custody, demanded of him if he had received any order to detain him; and he denied that he had any such order, notwithstanding he had most openly and in villanous terms, repeated before, that he would detain him if he could find him, and had in a scandalous manner made inquiries after him. The said Daniel De Foe, having no other remedy against such barbarous treatment, but by setting the matter in a true light, thinks he could do no less in justice to the government and himself, than make this publication; and further, he hereby offers the reward of £20 to any person that will discover to him, so as to prove it, the author and publisher of any of those written news-letters, in which those reports were published, which shall be paid immediately, upon such proof made, at the publishers of this paper. Witness my hand, DANIEL DE FOE."

CHAPTER XIV.

New Session of Parliament.—Clamour of the High Flyers.—Unsuccessful Attempts of the Ministers to calm them.—Occasional Bill revived in the Commons.—Thrown out by the Lords.—De Foe's Remarks.—Tennison's Wise Conduct.—De Foe Unmasks the Hypocrisy of the Tories.—And describes the Evils the Nation escaped by the defeat of the Measure.—His Account of the Tack.—Lamentations of a Tory Writer.—Publications upon the Subject.—Lampoons upon the Tackers.—Libel upon De Foe—He defends Himself.—His Description of a Tacker.—Illustrated by an Anecdote.—He is threatened for his Writings.—Justifies himself.—And Defies his Enemies.—Sir Humphrey Mackworth's Bill for the Employment of the Poor.—De Foe publishes his "Giving Alms no Charity."—Abstract of his Argument.—And Character of the Work.

1704.

The alterations effected in the ministry in the early part of the year, produced a happy change in the relative condition of political parties. The rapid strides taken by the Tories towards the annihilation of liberty, had experienced a check in a quarter from whence it was little expected, and it had its influence in parliament; but they still maintained their ascendancy in the Commons. Upon the opening of the third and last session of this parliament, October 24, the queen delivered a conciliatory speech, deprecating contention, and expressive of kindness to all her subjects. The address of the Lords was in unison with the speech; but the Commons expressed themselves in more measured terms, and soon discovered that they were far from promoting measures of conciliation. De Foe tells us, "That the general cry of

the church's danger was industriously handed about amongst the high party, that it might be made the excuse for all their eccentric motions, heterodox opinions, disloyal reproaches of the sovereign, disrespectful behaviour to their diocesans, and exceeding clamour at their fellow-churchmen: that it was made the shuttle-cock of the party, and tossed about from pulpit to pulpit, from one end of the nation to the other; and that it was made the blind excuse for an Occasional Bill, and for tacking that bill to another; for which Sir John Packington, Sir Humphrey Mackworth, Mr. Bromley, and all the great managers of the conferences on that head, were his witnesses."*

It was rather expected at court, as well as earnestly desired by moderate men throughout the nation, that the Occasional Bill would not be revived in this session; it being a time when all parties should drop their animosities, to celebrate the triumphs of the nation over the common enemy. The ministers earnestly pressed the leading men of the high party to suspend their pretended zeal for the church, until a more favorable opportunity, when it would give less obstruction to the public business; but without avail.† The subject underwent several debates in the different Tory clubs, which "consisted chiefly of country gentlemen, better known afterwards by the appellation of October-men and fox-hunters; who, when they were at home, had most of their conversation with the rural clergy, from whom they could not but learn many excellent lessons against schism, which they were assured was synonimous with Presbyterianism, and consequently must think they were in a very good way, when they were doing so good service to the church as to endeavour to pluck it up by the roots."‡

* Review, ii. 210, 211. † Boyne's Queen Anne, p. 161.

‡ Oldmixon's Hist. England, iii. 344.

It was at length decided to press the measure; and upon the 23d of November, Mr. Bromley brought in his Bill for the third time. After many long and warm debates, it passed through its first stage, and was ordered for a second reading; but the formidable opposition that was now raised to it, alarmed the Tories for its success, particularly in the Upper House. This produced a fresh consultation in their principal club, at the Vine Tavern, in Long Acre, where it resolved to make sure of the measure by tacking it to a money-bill. Mr. Harley, who finessed with all parties, is said to have decoyed them into this snare; for the purpose of defeating them. In pursuance of this resolution, upon the second reading of the Bill, Mr. Bromley, after a long speech which contained many bitter invectives against the Dissenters, moved that it should be tacked to the Land-Tax bill. This occasioned a lengthy debate, and many animated speeches upon both sides. Several of the queen's ministers spoke against it; but it is to be remarked, that their opposition was grounded upon prudence and state policy, rather than a regard to the political rights of those who were to be affected by it. The influence produced in parliament by a change of policy in those who administer the public affairs, was strikingly exemplified upon this occasion. Nearly a hundred and twenty of those members who were in the habit of voting with the Tories, deserted them upon this question; for, upon a division of the House, it appeared that there were one hundred and thirty-four for the tack, and two hundred and fifty against it. Both parties made great exertions to muster their strength; but if the Tories were defeated in their manœuvre, they succeeded in passing the Bill as a separate measure, by a majority of one hundred and seventy-nine, against a hundred and thirty-one.

Upon the following day, being the 15th of December, the Bill was sent to the Lords, where it underwent a debate, more for the satisfaction of the queen, who was present to

hear it, than for any novelty of argument that was likely to be elicited. Upon the question being put, whether the Bill should be read a second time? There appeared fifty for it, and seventy-one against it; so that the obnoxious measure was again defeated by the wisdom of the Lords. For this, reproaches were heaped upon them without mercy by the high party, which occasioned De Foe to interpose the following defence. "Those that tax the Lords with a want of due care of the church, may, with much more reason, be chargeable with want of reason as well as manners, and may be thus answered. That a due care of the church must be allowed to consist rather in bringing Dissenters into the communion of the church, than in shutting the door against them and their posterity; blocking it up with ceremonies, trifles, and things owned to be indifferent, which they never could defend in practice, much less can any thing defend the imposing them as terms of communion."* (x)

Our author intimates, that although the good of the church was the cry of the party, yet, it was merely a cloak to conceal their hypocrisy. Had the design been really the

* Review, ii. 371.

(x) Tennison, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was ridiculed by the Tories as "a huge pillar of the church," deserves to be honourably mentioned for his noble stand in behalf of liberty upon this occasion. He thought "The practice of Occasional Conformity, as used by the Dissenters, so far from deserving the title of a vile hypocrisy, was the duty of all moderate Dissenters, upon their own principles. The employing persons of a different religion from the established," says he, "has been practised in all countries where liberty of conscience has been allowed; and we have gone farther already in excluding Dissenters, than any other country has done." He observed, "That whatever danger was to be apprehended from the Papists, when the Test Act was made, they did not apply to the Dissenters; and that he could see very plain inconveniences from the bill, which was a direct violation of the Act of Toleration." The good primate was supported by several other prelates, who had been raised to the bench by King William, and distinguished themselves by their pacific principles.—*Life of Tennison*, p. 103.

prevention of Occasional Conformity, it would have been more apparent, he says, "If instead of a bill to thrust out the Dissenters, they had been pleased to offer some remedies to the general evil; and have opened the doors of the church to receive all who could have come in upon any reasonable conditions. But, first to shut men out, and then to say they won't come in, is such a banter of the Almighty, and of their brethren, that 'tis no wonder these dealings make men afraid of their designs. For, it can never be thought that those who complain of dissent, schism and faction, can pretend to wish their being healed by making the breach wider, and shutting out those that would come in. To say, this bill is for the prevention of hypocrisy, is itself such a piece of hypocrisy, that not the House of Lords only, but the meanest ploughman in the nation, sees through and laughs at it. To say the Dissenters will not comply totally, though overtures and advances to that purpose were made, is to cover the cheat yet further, and make falsities and forgeries assist the design; for 'tis plain, there never has been any abatement of ceremonies or indifferent things as yet offered them. Now, this seems so just a thing, that I think no reasonable man can reject it. First, open the doors of the church, and make those advances which charity, temper and religion demand; and then, if the Dissenters are refractory, there may be some pretence for the charge of contumacy." *

The evils which the nation escaped by the failure of the measure, are described by our author in forcible language. He speaks of the Occasional Bill as fraught with such arcanas of villany, blood, and persecution, that, so far from answering the design of the imposers, it would operate as an earthquake under the church, and involve all in one common calamity. Upon the designs of these hot-headed politicians, he remarks, "If people will pull their own destruction upon their heads,

* Review, ii. 370, 1.

in spite of reflection, contrary to all the rules of reason and discretion, and to the light and convictions of their own understanding, 'tis impossible for human art to save them. Perhaps the time is not yet come; they must perhaps yet expose themselves farther, and we shall not see our safety until they have driven us to it by some yet more prodigious attempt—something that shall give our constitution such a shock as shall startle the whole nation, and put them into revolution-fits. If ever this evil be run up to extremities—if ever tacking-principles bring us into that confusion—if ever an attempt upon the English liberties be openly pushed at, I am fully persuaded the people of England, in defence of their just right, and the privileges derived to them from their ancestors, will be the destruction of all that shall attempt to dispossess them of that liberty." *

De Foe observes, that this scheme of the Tack, was not the project of those who voted for it; and that they never expected it would pass the Lords, or be assented to by the queen. The hare, says he, was started by some old gamesters, who had a mind to spoil their sport, and knew their hounds were not speedy enough to overtake it. "Who it was that moved them thus, and drew them into the snare, is, perhaps more easy than convenient to describe; but their general hatred of some men, who had not a few times formerly outwitted them, makes it easy to see that they knew the truth of it themselves. Nor, indeed, can I say a kinder thing to the Tackers, than that they were drawn into this matter by some that were too cunning for them; for if I would defend their sense, and make it an act of premeditation, their wits will be supported at the expense of their reputation, and they must pass for something so much more scandalous than a fool, that the exchange will be greatly to their disadvantage. Had they told noses; had they known the strength

* Review, ii. 110,118.

of their party; had they been able to calculate persons and things, they would never have been so deluded." * The tacking-project having been defended by some persons, who professed themselves adverse to persecution, and endeavoured to gild it over with soft names, De Foe observes, "The nice distinction between a Tacker and a moderate Tacker, being the learned opinion of a certain clergyman not far in principle from a vicar of Bray, I confess to be a mystery past my understanding; and the moderation of a Tacker seems to me to merit a place in my Lord Rochester's poem upon Nothing." †

The defeat of their favourite measure was a source of much lamentation to the Tories. Let us hear the wailings of one of their writers. "This was the cause of a mighty triumph to the Whig party; and the very faction who had abolished the House of Lords in the times of rebellion and sequestration, now called them their only guardians and protectors. Immediately a ballad was made, and the burthen of the song was 'A Hundred and Thirty-four' (the number of those honourable members in the House of Commons who were for sending it up to their Lordships by way of clause to the land-tax) intimating those worthy patriots were for fire and faggot, like their Shortest Way Scribe, and for bringing in the King of France, the Prince of Wales, and Wooden Shoes, with the rest of the trinkets that are the usual attendants of Popery. The press had been used by them as an instrument of conveyance, through which all their filth and ordure, their offals of scandal and iniquity, had hitherto passed, and they got ready reams of malignity to make its way into the open light through that common-shore, at the rising of the parliament. New elections were to come on before another session, and the only way to get rid of such as had obstructed their republican and fanatical

* Review, iii. 177, 8. † Ibid, ii. 117.

systems, and were like to continue in the same temperament of mind, was to make them obnoxious to the public censure, and gain over those votes by some article or other which had been before given in their behalf. But as the House of Commons had a greater regard for their honour, and the privileges of parliament, than tamely submit themselves to be reproached and calumniated during this session, so they deferred the publication of their villanous attempts upon the honestest part of them, till it broke up. When off went the signal of anarchy and confusion in a paper rocket, or a new *Black list* of those worthy patriots, who, to prevent the Church of England from being undermined by the Occasional Conformists, did, like true noble Englishmen, vote that the bill to prevent Occasional Conformity might be tacked to the Land-Tax bill, to secure its passage in the House of Lords; so that this their zeal does appear to all wise men as conspicuous for the interest, as their lives are ornaments, to that church of which they are members."

The man who could be mad enough to suppose that a church fenced around by so many penal laws, was to be endangered by some half-dozen Occasional Conformists, was quite in character when he canted the following passage: "The church-party, in the mean time, said not a word, but comforting themselves under the dispensation of Providence and a quiet conscience, even when they were under the dismal reflections of her majesty's being the last of the English line, and that this good queen being mortal, they could hope for no such opportunities from her successors, as they had reason to expect from her propitious reign. They were certain of this illustrious princess, from her education, her principles, her practices, and her assurances to promote and advance the interest of the church established; but could promise themselves no such certainty from those that were to come after, who, though they were constrained by act of parliament to be of that profession themselves, had no obligation upon

them to promote and encourage it in others. Besides, they were under the greatest concern for her majesty's glory; and wished for nothing more than that it might be in her royal power to return that glory to God, by consummating the felicities of the people, in leaving them the use of God's holy worship in its primitive strength and purity."* The pure worship of God would have fared much better in the world, if its princes had not concerned themselves to meddle in such matters; but then, the means of gratifying their ambition would have been more contracted, and they would have failed in their most efficient help for enslaving the people. By pressing the clergy into their service, they have taught them in return to erect a temporal dominion for themselves, equally dangerous to religion and liberty, which have flourished most in those states that have interdicted their interference with politics. Sects, however numerous, or whatever absurdity may attach to their tenets, will be always harmless, so long as they are not incorporated with the state, nor allowed to molest each other; it is political power that renders them dangerous, and converts them into persecutors. The true secret of government is to put an end to the rivalry of sects, by giving to no one the ascendancy; for when the temptation to supplant each other no longer exists, they will live as brethren, and strive together for the faith of the gospel, rather than for secular rewards.

One of the most powerful opponents of the Bill, was that distinguished statesman, Charles Montague, Earl of Halifax, who not only resisted it successfully in the Lords, but applied his great talents to the like purpose from the press. Mr. Bromley having published his speech in which he intimated that the church was then in as much danger from the Dissenters, as it had been formerly from the Papists, his

* History of Faction, p. 154—157.

lordship published an answer to it, in which he combatted all the arguments brought forward for the measure. Innumerable pamphlets were issued by both parties; but in none was the spirit of the times more fully displayed than in the following: "Antichrist Unmasked, and Occasional Conformity considered, in its nature and effects as Satan's chief machine and masterpiece; an actual abdication of Christianity, as Adam's was out of Paradise: shewing that the patrons and practisers hereof, shipwreck faith, debauch conscience, are apparent enemies to the cross, and mammon's devoted proselytes: have ever been, and yet are the principal authors of the most dreadful judgments ever heretofore inflicted, or may be justly feared, and will never be reclaimed by Tests or Penal Laws. Together with many other awakening, enlightening, and undeniable truths, christian advice, convincing argument, apt similitudes, parabolical poems, and all objections fully answered. By a True Lover of all men." The work with this astounding title, was advertised in the *Review* for May 29, 1705, as in the press, and to be speedily published. Perhaps it was no more than a satire upon those whose absurd politics were the mockery of wise men; and it might be an invention of De Foe's to hold them up to derision. But the men who could work upon the passions of the ignorant, and delude them into a hatred of their fellow citizens for the purpose of trampling upon their civil rights, were no better than impostors in religion, and deserved the execration of society.

Upon the rising of parliament, a list of the members who voted for the Tack was printed, and freely distributed through the nation. They were also satirized in a ballad, to the tune of 'One Hundred and Thirty-four,' supposed to be written by John Tutchin; and both were animadverted upon in a pamphlet called "The Tackers Vindicated: or an Answer to the Whigs' 'New Black List,' which has been dispersed abroad since the rising of both Houses of Parliament,

to misrepresent such members as have shewn themselves worthy patriots in defence of the church established; in order to render 'em suspected to the people of England at the ensuing elections. With a word to Mr. John Tutchin, about his scandalous ballad, that goes to the tune of 'One Hundred and Thirty-four.' Lond. 1705." From the heat displayed upon this occasion, it might have been thought that the liberties of the people were at stake, and that the safety of the nation depended not only upon the preservation of the church, but upon the persecution of her opponents. An antidote to this cant, was found in "A Brief Account of the Tack, in a letter to a friend. Printed in the year 1705." The author was a moderate churchman, and argues the subject with temper and good sense. Condemning the practice of making religious institutions the stepping-stone to preferment in the state, he at the same time opposes any measure that would obstruct the intercourse of different sects, and considers the late bill as the harbinger of farther and severer enactments. He treats the Tack as a compendious way of dispatching business, but subversive of those forms of our constitution which are judiciously provided for the purpose of preventing hasty decisions, and the injury that would arise from the prevalence of intemperate factions.

Soon after the rejection of the Bill, Dunton published in his *Athenian Catechism*, "The Character of a Tacker," which was reprinted afterwards, with the addition of "The Character of an Anti-Tacker, by the same hand." The aid of the poet, was also pressed into the service, until wit was exhausted in ballads and lampoons, and the streets resounded with the subject. De Foe says, the scheme of tacking became "a bye-word and hissing to the whole nation." The Oxfordshire members, who all voted for the Tack, were satirized in "The Oxfordshire Nine;" The tendency of Tory politics was exposed in "The French King's lamentation for the loss of the Occasional Bill," of which each

stanza ended with the unlucky number—a hundred and thirty-four. "The Down-Cast," ridiculed the Bill and its supporters: and "The History and Fall of the Conformity-Bill," being an excellent new song, was chanted to the tune of Chevy-Chase, and contained the following stanzas:

"Now conscience is a thing we know,
Like to a mastiff-dog,
Which if ty'd up so fierce he'll grow,
He'll bite his very clog.

Dissenters they were to be pressed
To go to Common-Prayer,
And turn their faces to the East,
As God were only there:

Or else no place of price or trust
They ever could obtain;
Which shews that saying very just
That 'godliness is gain.'"

Although none of these political squibs appear to have emanated from De Foe, yet a writer of his known zeal against ecclesiastical encroachments, was not likely to escape the animadversions of the high party, who made him responsible for much of the scandal which their violence had drawn upon them. One of the lampoons levelled at him was intitled, "Daniel the Prophet no Conjuror: Or his Scandal Club's Scandalous Ballad, called 'The Tackers,' answered paragraph by paragraph. Sold by B. Bragg, in Ave-Mary Lane. 1705." In this tract the author institutes a comparison between the merits of De Foe, and those of another periodical writer. "The design of his writing," says he, "is levelled at the Established Church, and though he is somewhat more modest than the "Observator," in his *Reviews*, and they seemingly carry on their mines, against what the gates of hell shall not prevail, by different approaches, they meet together in the same angle at last, and join in overthrowing the foundation of the government,

ecclesiastical and civil. The one takes upon him to stand upon Apollo's Tripos, and resolves, after an oracular manner, such questions as shall be sent him, and under the disguise of expatiating upon trade, runs his reader insensibly into commonwealth-systems; the other, by justifying the transactions of former times, openly invites all such as are ill-disposed, to act over those melancholy scenes again, which the nation yet smarts for." After all, De Foe was not the author of the ballad, which he describes as possessing more truth than poetry. He says, "I have not accosted you with ballads, lampoons, or pasquinades; 'The Song of the 134,' the 'Black List,' and all the crowd of virulent and splenetic wit printed upon you, however according to a barbarous mob-custom I am cried to them about the street, have some other author. I have never been concerned in them, nor have I wrote any thing upon the subject, but what is to be found in the course of these papers. Nor, indeed, gentlemen," continues he, "do I see any need of lampooning you: the matter of fact is satire enough, and the more modestly expressed, the keener and the more cutting are the lashes." *.

De Foe declares himself against the principle of pointing out particular individuals by name, as having a tendency to exasperate, rather than to reform them. "I am not for making distinctions of names," says he; "I wish they were all buried in the grave of that assembly in which this new qualification of a betrayer of England, was first contrived." † He was, however, no friend to the Tackers, and animadverts upon them in several of his *Reviews*. "A Tacker," says he, "is a man who, to gratify his passion, foolishly called zeal, being filled with unreasonable humour and animosity, would run us upon the most dangerous experiment that ever this nation escaped. He has been voted a persecutor by the

* Review, ii. 105. † Ibid, 117,

bishops of our church, as well as by the body of our English nobility; and we must be riper for destruction than I believe we are, if we can ever hold up our hands, or give our vote for a tacker, a persecutor, and a man of blood." * De Foe tells the Tackers, that if they are resolved to go on and embroil the nation, they must expect the fate of those who trifle with oppression, until it turns upon the oppressor; which he illustrates by an anecdote that fell under his own observation. (Y)

For the freedom with which he delivered himself against the project of Tacking, although he had abstained from personal allusions, he was threatened to be called to account at some future period. To this he saw no occasion to reply: "I declare against it," says he, "as a very terrible attempt upon the nation's peace; and I am in this embarked in very good company, with whose opinion my judgment is backed, both built on the solid foundation of truth and liberty, and I cannot fear suffering in such a cause. The gentlemen that please themselves with the hopes of this, tell me in their

* Review, ii. 98, 99.

(Y) "There happened a quarrel one day among some brick-makers that I had occasion to employ, and two of them fell to boxing. One of the two whose name was Peter, had the other down and beat him unmercifully. The fellow that lay under him cried out, and as I was at some distance I ran with some servants to part them, thinking he had cried murder; but coming nearer I understood him better, and found he cried out pay me Peter, pay me Peter, 'twill be my turn bye and bye! Peter did his best, and being a very strong fellow, mauled him sufficiently. But at last when Peter had beaten till he were out of breath, the fellow's turn came; he got up, and Peter was undermost, and the other used him accordingly. I make no application: I would have no body undermost; I would have all Love, Peace, Charity, and Union: but if ye will be mad; if you will be all Persecution and Conformity or nothing; dragoon them into it at once Gentlemen; show yourselves fairly; set up Gallows and Galleys; send the Parents to Gaol, and confiscate their estates; take their Children from them, and educate them in your own blessed principles; affront the Queen, dissolve the settlement, restore King James, and declare your minds, but then, I beseech you, do not forget the story of Peter and his fellow."

angry epistles, the very method how I am to be a second spectacle to the world for this freedom; that they are very sure, the ensuing parliament will pursue the same steps as the last; and that all those gentlemen we have so ill-treated, will have their full justification and satisfaction. I am so fully assured of the justness of my observations on this head, that I cannot be solicitous on that score, nor at all afraid to say, that if the next parliament should pursue the steps of the last, the nation, in my opinion, will be so much nearer that crisis of time, when English liberty being brought to the last extremity, must open the magazine of original power, which never yet failed to overwhelm all the attempts to destroy her, and hurled the enemies of her peace in the rubbish of their own abortive projects; of which the late revolution is not a pattern only, but methinks ought to be as a light-house, or buoy, set upon a dangerous place to warn people of splitting on those shores where others have been shipwrecked before them. And yet, after all the hopes these gentlemen have of their fatal project being grateful to the next parliament, I must tell them plainly, if they are not out in their calculations, I am sure I am out in mine; and I am content to wait the issue. If the worst come, it will not be the first time I have been ill-treated *for saying that*, the truth of which, even the worst enemy I have, cannot now dispute. But these things are over; the days of oppression are gone; and though 'tis plain all their struggles are to revive them, yet the visible appearance of the government, both in church and state, in behalf of that heavenly temper of moderation, gives us all hopes, that could a few diligent disturbers be reclaimed, the peace of this nation might now be settled in such a manner as never to be broken more." *

* Review, ii. 181, 2.

The next subject that engaged the pen of De Foe, was one that still preserves its importance, and will continue to do so, as long as the support of the poor remains an object of legislation.

Towards the latter end of the year, Sir Humphrey Mackworth introduced a bill into the Commons, for the employment of the poor; the object of which was, to establish in every parish a parochial manufactory, and to provide a fund for its support. Whilst under the consideration of the House, it was printed by direction of the member who had framed it; and having thus become public property, it was open to general scrutiny. From an aprehension that Sir Humphrey had mistaken the right method of remedying the grievance of which he complained, De Foe now penned his masterly treatise, intitled "Giving Alms no Charity; and employing the Poor, a Grievance to the Nation. Being an Essay upon this great question, Whether Work-houses, Corporations, and Houses of Correction for employing the Poor, as now practised in England; or Parish-Stocks, as proposed in a late Pamphlet intitled 'A Bill for the better Relief, Employment and Settlement of the Poor, &c.' are not mischievous to the nation, tending to the Destruction of our Trade, and to increase the Number and Misery of the Poor. Addressed to the Parliament of England. London: Printed and Sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster. 1704." 4to. pp. 28. Advertised in the *Review* for November 18; and addressed "To the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses in Parliament assembled."

As an English freeholder, and concerned in the general good, De Foe claimed a right to lay before the House and the public, his sentiments upon this important subject. For this freedom he considered any apology unnecessary; for, "He that has truth and justice in his design, can have nothing to fear from an English parliament." From the

stores of a mind capable of penetrating all the bearings of the subject, he lays down the following propositions as fundamental maxims in the government of the poor. 1. That there is in England more labour than hands to perform it; and consequently, a want of people, not of employment. 2. That no man of sound limbs and senses can be poor merely for want of work. 3. That all our work-houses, corporations, and charities for employing the poor, as they are now employed; or any acts of parliament to empower overseers of parishes, or parishes themselves to employ the poor, excepting in some particular cases, are public nuisances, and a mischief to the nation; tending to the ruin of families, and the increase of the poor. 4. That it is a regulation of the poor which is wanted in England, not the setting them to work. These points, he says, he is not only prepared to make out, but also to lay down such a scheme as shall for ever put a stop to poverty and begging, with their concomitant attendants, parish charges, assessments and the like.

From the dearness of wages in England, which, in our author's time, outstripped that of all other nations, without the incumbrance of a heavy debt, and a corresponding weight of taxation, he inferred a deficiency of labourers. Wages, like exchanges, rise and fall as the employers and the workmen balance each other. "Trade, like all nature," says he, "most obsequiously obeys the great law of cause and consequence; and this is the occasion why all the great articles of trade follow, and, as it were, pay homage to this seemingly minute and inconsiderable thing—*the poor man's labour*. The price of wages not only determines the difference between the employer and the workman, but it rules the rates of every market. If wages are high, provisions rise in proportion; and I humbly conceive it to be a mistake in those people who say, labour in such parts of England is cheap, because provisions are cheap. But, 'tis plain, provisions are cheap there because

labour is cheap; and labour is cheaper in those parts than in others, because, being remote from London, there is not that extraordinary disproportion between the work and the number of hands: There are more hands, and consequently labour is cheaper."

From the example of the Low Countries, which abound with cities thickly peopled, and thriving upon the rewards of industry, our author adopted a theory upon population, somewhat different to that of our modern economists. "I cannot but note," says he, "that the glory, the strength, the riches, the trade, and all that is valuable in a nation as to its figure in the world, depends upon the number of its people, be they never so mean or poor. The consumption of manufactures increases the manufacturers; the number of manufacturers increases the consumption; provisions are consumed to feed them, land improved, and more hands employed to furnish provisions. All the wealth of the nation, and all the trade, is produced by numbers of people." With equal judgment and penetration, he observes, "If there was one poor man in England more than there is work to employ, either somebody else must stand still for him, or he must be starved. If another man stands still for him, he wants a day's work, and in going to seek it, supplants another, and this a third, which brings it to this consequence: that one poor man, wanting but a day's work, will bring down the price of labour in a whole nation; for the man cannot starve, and will work for any thing rather than want it."

Our author has some judicious remarks upon vagrancy. "I am sorry to say, I am obliged here to call begging an employment; since 'tis plain, if there is more work than hands to perform it, no man that has his limbs and his senses need beg; and those that have not, ought to be put in a condition not to want it, so that begging is a mere scandal in the general: In the able, 'tis a scandal upon their industry; and in the impotent, 'tis a scandal upon the

country. Nay, begging as now practised, is a scandal upon our charity; for people have such a notion in England of being charitable, that they encourage vagrants, and by a mistaken zeal do more harm than good. The poverty of England," adds De Foe, "does not lie among the craving beggars, but among poor families where the children are numerous, and where death or sickness has deprived them of the labour of the father. These are the houses that the sons and daughters of charity, if they would order it well, should seek out and relieve. An alms ill-directed, may be charity to the particular person, but becomes an injury to the public, and no charity to the nation. As to the craving poor, I am persuaded I do them no wrong when I say, that if they were incorporated they would be the richest society in the nation. The reason why so many pretend to want work, is, that they can live so well without it. I affirm of my own knowledge," says he, "when I have wanted a man for labouring work, and offered nine shillings a-week to strolling fellows at my door, they have frequently told me to my face, they could get more by begging; and I once set a lusty fellow in the stocks for making the experiment."

In reference to the mistaken policy of Sir Humphrey's bill, our author thinks it strange that we should fancy it to be our business to find work for the poor, rather than oblige them to seek it themselves. "From this mistaken no tion," says he, "come all our workhouses and corporations; and the same error, with submission, I presume, was the birth of the bill now depending." The effect of it, he observes, will be the increase of poverty. For, the manufactures upon which these people are employed, are such as are already in existence, and worked to their full extent. By way of illustration, he says, "supposing, in a workhouse for the employment of poor children, they are set to spinning worsted: for every skein so spun, there must be a skein the less spun by some poor family or person that spun it before. Suppose a manufac-

ture of bays to be erected in Bishopsgate-street; unless the makers can find out a new class of consumers, for every piece of bays so made in London, there must be a piece the less made at Colchester; so that this is only transporting the manufactory from one place to another; and taking the bread out of the mouths of the poor of Essex, to put it into the mouths of the poor of Middlesex. If those worthy gentlemen who show themselves so commendably forward to relieve and employ the poor, will find out some new trade or new market, then, indeed, they will do something worthy of themselves, and may employ the poor to the same glorious advantage as Queen Elizabeth, to whom this nation, as a trading country, owes its peculiar greatness. But to set poor people to work on the same thing which other poor people were employed on before, and at the same time not increase the consumption, is giving to one what you take away from another, and putting a vagabond into an honest man's employment."

Another evil contemplated by our author, in the proposed measure, was, that it would be turning London into a vast manufactory, and disturb the healthy circulation of trade through the kingdom. "The manufactures of England," says he, "are happily settled in different places, from whence they are conveyed by a circulation of trade to London by wholesale, and from thence dispersed in lesser quantities to the other parts of the kingdom by retail. By this exchange, abundance of families are maintained by the carriage and re-carrriage of goods; vast numbers of men and cattle are employed, and numbers of inn-holders, victuallers, and their dependants are subsisted. All methods to bring our trade to be managed by fewer hands, are in themselves pernicious to England, as they lessen the employment of the poor, unhinge their hands from labour, and tend to bring our hands superior to our employ, which as yet is not the case." De Foe has some unanswerable arguments to show the evil consequences

that would arise from the transplanting of manufactures and families; and he illustrates his reasoning by facts that are not to be resisted.

In considering the sources from whence the poverty of our people proceeds, our author observes, that it is not from want of work, nor from any deficiency of wages: as he instances in a labourer whom he had employed several years at tile-making, who earned from sixteen to twenty shillings a week, and yet would hardly ever have a pair of shoes to his feet, or clothes to cover his nakedness, and moreover, threw his wife and children upon the parish. Poverty, he observes, is plainly derived from one of these two causes; casualty or crime. By casualty, he means bodily disease, loss of limbs, or, in general, any providential visitation that incapacitates man for labour. But the poverty of the people he traces principally to pride, luxury, and sloth. "Good husbandry is no English virtue. 'Tis generally said, the English get estates, and the Dutch save them. And this observation," says he, "I have made, that when an Englishman earns twenty shillings a week, and but just lives, a Dutchman grows rich, and leaves his children in very good condition. Where an English labouring man with his nine shillings a week, lives wretchedly and poor, a Dutchman with the same wages, will live tolerably well, keep the wolf from the door, and have every thing handsome about him. In short, he will be rich with the same gain that makes an Englishman poor; he will thrive when the other goes in rags; and he will live when the other starves or begs. The reason is plain: the man with good husbandry and thought in his head, brings home his earnings honestly to his family, commits it to the management of his wife, or otherwise disposes of it for their subsistence, and this man, with mean gains, lives comfortably and brings up a family; whilst a single man, getting the same wages, drinks it away at the ale-house, thinks not of to-morrow, lays up nothing for sickness, age, or disaster, and

when any of these happen, he's starved and a beggar. It is too apparent to need explication, that English labouring people eat and drink three times as much in value as any sort of foreigners in the world. This it is that keeps them low, causes their children to be left naked and starving, and consigns them to the parish when sickness or disaster befals the parent."

Another national disease is sloth. "Nothing is more common than for an Englishman to work till he has got his pocket full of money, and then to be idle, or perhaps drunk till it is all gone; and so little is it thought of, that he'll tell you honestly, he'll drink as long as it lasts, and then go to work for more. I can give an incredible number of examples in my own knowledge. I once paid six or seven men together on a Saturday night, the least ten shillings, and some thirty shillings, for work, and have seen them go with it directly to the ale-house, lie there till Monday, spend every penny, and run in debt to boot, without giving a farthing to their families, though all of them had wives and children. From hence comes poverty, parish charges, and beggary. If one of these wretches falls sick, he goes to the parish, and his wife and children turn beggars." De Foe tells the Commons, that by applying proper remedies to these evils, they will confer a greater benefit to the nation, than by passing laws for transposing our manufactures, the end of which will be the ruin of trade, and a consequent addition to the number of our poor.

This able and well-timed treatise upon an important subject, is distinguished alike by comprehensive knowledge, acuteness of penetration, and soundness of judgment; and it may still be perused with advantage by those who are disposed to give it their attention. Since the time of De Foe, some salutary laws have been enacted to repress vagrancy, and by the activity of the police, the nuisance has been in a great degree abated; but the number of parochial poor has

creased in a fearful degree, and the magnitude has so far conciled the country to its endurance, that no hope seems be entertained of any effectual cure. Many plans have en devised and promulgated by politicians and philan-ropists, and rejected upon the score of their impracti-bility; more, perhaps, from the prejudices they had to counter, than from any valid objections to the schemes emselves. Good sense is a sad intruder upon old customs d institutions, which men cease to worship when they can longer perceive their utility. In the course of the work, e shall have occasion again to recur to the subject.

CHAPTER XV.

Illness of De Foe.—He publishes "The Double Welcome to the Duke of Marlborough."—Renews his Attack upon Sir Humphrey Mackworth's Bill.—His Scheme for the Employment of the Poor.—Exemplified by Sir Owen Buckingham.—And by Himself.—Account of the Colony of Carolina.—Its Fundamental Constitutions.—Invaded by Lord Granville.—Intolerant Measures of his Government.—Dissenters and others Persecuted.—The Colonists depute an Agent to represent their Grievances.—Curious Interview with the Palatine.—The Affair brought before the House of Lords.—Decision in favour of the Colonists.—The Queen addressed to revoke the Charter.—The obnoxious Bills repealed.—And Peace restored to the Colony.—De Foe publishes a Pamphlet upon the Subject.—Account of his Work.—And of another by Mr. Archdale.—Hostilities between the Lords and Commons.—Parliament dissolved.—Remarks upon its Proceedings.—Rage of the Tories.—De Foe's Account of their Clamours.—He publishes "Advice to all Parties."—Abstract of his Work.—"History of Faction."—Account of the Writer.—And his Design in the Work.—Character of the Convocation.—Revival of Clerical Claims.—Ascendancy of the Clergy in this Reign.

1705.

AT the opening of the year 1705, De Foe was in an ill state of health. For some time previously he appears to have been laid aside from a regular application to his studies; but occasional intervals of ease enabled him to continue his *Review*, which met with but slight interruption in its ordinary course of publication. The nature of his illness is not mentioned, but it was of some months' continuance, and remained with him during the whole of January. Whether his constitution had received a shock by his long confinement,

can be only a matter of conjecture; but such a circumstance is not at all improbable. (z)

Upon the Duke of Marlborough's return to England, towards the close of the former year, he was welcomed with that favour and distinction which his splendid services so greatly merited. Besides the honors conferred upon him by the state, garlands of praise were prepared for him by the poets and the rhymsters of the age. De Foe published, upon this occasion, "The Double Welcome to the Duke of Marlborough. By the Author of the 'True-Born Englishman.' London, printed for Ben. Bragge, in Ave-Mary Lane, Ludgate Street, 1705." 4to. Advertised in the *Review* for January 9. Whilst he eulogises the Duke for his victories abroad, and makes him second in fame to none but his beloved William, he hails his return as the harbinger of that internal peace to which the nation had been so long a stranger. In the language of keen satire, he points to those hot-spurs of the church, who had embroiled the land:

> "These are the strong banditti of the gown,
> Who preach for God's sake, plunder for their own."

In the early part of the year, De Foe renewed his attack upon Sir Humphrey Mackworth, whose bill for the regulation of the poor had passed through the Commons with great applause; but, when carried to the Lords, they proceeded

(z) De Foe's illness is thus noticed in his *Review*, for January 6, 1705. "Several gentlemen having impatiently expected the Supplement to the *Review*, due for November last, the Society are obliged to desire the gentlemen's excuse, the author of this having *for some time been very ill*, and not able to prepare it; but it being now finished, and in the press, it may be expected the next week without fail." In the *Review*, for January 23, he says, "The author of this paper having been very sick, and out of town when the two last *Reviews* and the Supplement were finished, several errors of the press passed uncorrected, which the printer begs the reader's pardon for, and desires may be observed."

with more circumspection, and rejected it as incompatible with the interests of the nation. In addition to his treatise, before-mentioned, he discussed the subject in several of his *Reviews*, in which he takes the following estimate of his opponent's character, and of the difficulties he had to contend with.

"I am now embarked against an act of parliament; a Bill contrived by a gentleman famed for knowledge of the interest and affairs of his country; judged so sufficient as to be entrusted with the representation of a whole county; a man of sense; all men allow, a man of letters; and, if you'll credit his own book, a man of piety and religion.* I am embarked, not against a ludicrous excursion of his fancy, not a flash of his pen, nor a hasty thought, excusable from want of leisure; but a thing studied and laboured, the work of a million of thoughts deep as the leaden mines of his understanding, and refined with them at a vast expence for the public good.—A thing on which, as on a solid foundation, he had built a fabrick of reputation, and had wrote on the outside, in capitals, COME SEE MY CHARITY FOR THE POOR: a thing which no man could doubt would have purchased him millions of blessings, and daily prayers for his posterity, as the saviour of the poor, the feeder of the hungry, and the clother of the naked; and a thing formed into so noble an appearance, that he need have prepared himself no epitaph, but was secured of the greatest encomium an Englishman could desire after his decease, when it should be written on his grave—*Here lies Sir H. M. the charitable contriver of that famous act for the employment of the poor.* Nor am I engaged only with this gentleman; but I am to oppose the legislative wisdom of the nation."

After this banter upon the author of the measure, De Foe has the following apostrophe to himself. "Unhappy

* See Principles of a Member of the Black List.

Review! that must be forced to erect his own opinion, and advance his private judgment against the capitals of the nation; and must stand the test of public censure for his arrogance, only from the magnitude of his opposers, not at all from their reasons or the force of their judgments. Be it so. Truth and demonstration are the weapons; and I am only to be answered by the irrefragable arguments of reason. When these are against me; I submit and pay homage to truth in the mouth of the meanest; but with these, I am a match for the greatest, and boldly take upon me to say, That Bill is an indigested chaos, a mass of inconsistency, big with monsters of amphibious generation, brooding needless and fatal errors, and numberless irreparable mischiefs, absolutely destructive of trade, ruinous to the poor, tending to the confusion of our home trade, stopping the circulation of our manufactures, and increasing both the number and misery of the poor."* This catalogue of evils is illustrated by De Foe at considerable length, and confirmed by a force of reasoning that does great credit to his judgment, as well as to his knowledge of the subject.

De Foe has many sagacious remarks upon trade in general, and especially upon the employment of the poor. "Nothing," says he, "obeys the course of nature more exactly than trade. Causes and consequences follow as directly as day and night. If one man can do two men's work, one of the two must stand still; if a manufacture grows in one place, that or another must sink somewhere else; and I wonder from what weak thoughts in trade, any man could form a notion, that vast quantities of goods shall be made in one place, and not the less be made in another."† Our author is therefore for setting the poor to work upon such articles of home consumption as are imported from abroad, which would enable them to earn the money that was

* Review, ii. 37, 38. † Ibid, p. 26.

carried into foreign countries. The practicability of his scheme had been exemplified by Sir Owen Buckingham, then Lord-Mayor of London, who erected a workhouse at Reading, for the manufacture of sail-cloth, which had been hitherto imported from Holland or Normandy; and for this, says he, there is not one skein of worsted the less spun in this nation. He then alludes to his own case in the following terms: "Nor should the author of this paper boast in vain, if he tells the world that he himself, before violence, injury, and barbarous treatment demolished him and his undertaking, employed a hundred poor people in making pantiles in England—a manufacture always bought in Holland—and that he pursued this principle with the utmost zeal for the good of England: and those gentlemen who so eagerly persecuted him for saying what all the world since owns to be true, and which he has a hundred times since offered to prove, were particularly serviceable to the nation, in turning that hundred of poor people and their families a begging for work, and forcing them to turn other poor families out of work, to make room for them; besides three thousand pounds damage to the author, which he has paid for his little experience."*

During this session of parliament, the pen of De Foe was occupied in an affair of some consequence to the colonies, where the spirit of ecclesiastical domination extended itself from the mother-country. The case was this:—

CAROLINA, a province of North America, so called from Charles the Ninth, king of France, had been alternately occupied by the Spaniards and the French; but neither of them taking any interest in the preservation of the country, it was deserted by the Europeans for nearly a century. Whilst in this unoccupied state, Charles II., soon after his accession, laid claim to it, upon a groundless pretence, for

* Review, ii. p. 34.

the crown of England, and granted a patent, bearing date the 24th of March, 1663, to eight noblemen and gentlemen, who, to use the words of the charter, "Being excited with a laudable and pious zeal for the propagation of the gospel, begged a certain country in the parts of America not yet cultivated and planted, *and only inhabited by some barbarous people*, who had no knowledge of God." The English of which is, That they were desirous of dispossessing the natives, and converting the produce of the country to their own advantage.

A violent persecution being then raised in England, upon the pretence of religion, but really for the aggrandizement of a favoured sect, the proprietaries gave encouragement to the persecuted to settle in the new colony, and great numbers retired there for the enjoyment of that liberty which they could not obtain at home. By the terms of the charter, express provision was made for a toleration and indulgence to all christians in the free exercise of their religion. In a course of years, the population of the country had so far increased as to render a more stable constitution necessary for its government; and the proprietors delegated the Earl of Shaftesbury, one of their number, to frame some articles for that purpose. This work he consigned to his friend, the celebrated John Locke, who penned "The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina," consisting of one hundred and twenty articles, which was accepted by the proprietors. With the exception of one article, which was foisted in by some bigot to the church, and is not in keeping with the rest, they bear the genuine impress of their illustrious author. The articles relating to religion, are framed upon generous principles; all sects were tolerated; but every person above the age of seventeen, was to be enrolled as a member of some church; and any seven persons agreeing in opinion, might constitute such a society. The only conditions imposed upon them by the state was, the belief of a God, and

the acknowledgment of him by public worship; together with some external form of bearing witness to the truth, tantamount to an oath. It was provided, that no person should be disturbed for any speculative opinions, or be excluded upon account of his religion from being a member of the General Assembly, or from holding any office in the civil administration. These fundamental constitutions were signed by the proprietaries on the first of March, 1669, and confirmed in 1689; and by the last article it was declared that they "shall be and remain the sacred and unalterable form and rule of government of Carolina for ever." Upon the faith of this liberal rule of government, many English families transplanted themselves to Carolina, and vested their property in the colony, where they increased in numbers and prosperity, and lived many years in peace.

The triumph of Toryism, upon the accession of Queen Anne, was a signal for the revival of that ecclesiastical intolerance, which was felt in the remotest parts of the British empire. In Carolina, where the Dissenters formed the bulk of the inhabitants, and had acquired that influence in the government which wealth and numbers were calculated to procure for them, some exemption from the withering hand of the destroying angel might have been reasonably looked for; but it is sought in vain. Under the influence of the new palatine, John Lord Granville, whose bitterness against the Dissenters was displayed both in and out of Parliament upon a variety of occasions, the affairs of the colony assumed a new aspect. Violence and intrigue took the place of law and justice; and the basest arts were resorted to, for the purpose of new modelling the government, and undermining the constitution of the colony. In a packed house of representatives, a bill was passed upon the sixth of May 1704, to exclude the Dissenters from any share in the legislature. It provided, that every member upon taking his seat, should in a full house deliver to the Speaker

a certificate of his receiving the Sacrament in conformity with the rites of the Church of England, under the hand of the minister, or of at least two credible witnesses, upon oath. By virtue of this act, every Dissenter was turned out of the House of Assembly, to make room for Church of England men. For it also provided, that the person who had the most votes next to such Dissenter, should be admitted in his place; and those of the episcopal party being generally men of violent and persecuting principles, they neglected no measures calculated to secure the power in their own hands.

The Dissenters being thus shorn of those honours, to which they had as good a title as to their estates, were marked out to the mob as persons rendered infamous by law, and unworthy to be entrusted with the liberties of their country. It might have been presumed, that the men who advanced such arrogant pretensions to government, would at least have shewn themselves qualified for it by their capacity and conduct. But in spite of the prepossessions of bigotry, nature wholly discards such artificial distinctions, by distributing her favours indifferently and without partiality. As the profession of episcopacy was no security for good government, so neither did it confer upon its members any extraordinary claim either to religion or virtue. From the report of the episcopal minister at Charlestown, it appears that they were not only bad christians, but bad churchmen, and neglected the religious rite which they were so zealous in making a passport to civil honours. He says, "That the Dissenters are the soberest as well as the most numerous and richest people of the province;" and adds, that "He cannot think it much for the credit and service of the Church of England, that such provisions should be made for admitting the most loose and profligate persons to sit and vote in the making of our laws, who will but take the oath appointed by the late act." Men of different religions, when they meet upon one common ground as fellow-citizens, are divested of those

sectarian feelings, which give asperity to their opinions, and they lose those motives for hostility which are kept alive by political oppression.

The Dissenters, as might be expected, were now exposed to all that insult and persecution which their degraded situation was calculated to countenance; and the full weight of the government was employed to render them odious to the people. The governor and his agents, to screen themselves from the consequences of their mismanagement, traduced and persecuted all who assisted in representing their conduct to the government at home; and still further to strengthen themselves in their despotic courses, they passed an act in the following November, to erect a High-Commission Court, similar to that constituted by James II. Under the specious title of "An Act for establishing religious worship in this province, according to the Church of England, and for the erecting of churches for the public worship of God, and also for the maintenance of ministers, and the building convenient houses for them," it incorporated twenty lay-persons for the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, arming them with absolute power to deprive any minister of his benefice, not only for immorality, but imprudence, and any incurable animosities between him and his parishioners. A court armed with such exorbitant powers, had as ill an aspect upon the episcopal clergy, as the former law was injurious to the Dissenters, and placed them at the mercy of a despotic government. One of its first consequences was felt by Mr. Edward Marston, the minister of Charles-Town, who had been a non-juror, and therefore not likely to be deficient in his affection for the church. But he appears to have been a man of principle, whose regard for justice prevailed over the less important considerations of party. He was, therefore, singled out as a victim to the merciless conduct of an unjust government.

Having determined to represent their grievances to the

English parliament, the colonists fixed upon Mr. Joseph Ash for their agent. It was not without some difficulty that this gentleman was enabled to undertake his mission; for the ruling faction getting notice of it, and justly apprehensive for the consequences, threw every difficulty in the way of his departure. But Mr. Ash escaping to Virginia, there received his instructions, and made good his voyage to England. His first step, upon his arrival, was to memorialize Lord Granville and the other proprietors; but finding that no redress was to be obtained from that quarter, he drew up a representation of the grievances of the colony, which he was well acquainted with, having been a member of the House of Assembly, and a considerable freeholder; but before the printing of it was finished, he was removed by death. The loss of this gentleman was supplied by Mr. Joseph Boon, who brought over another memorial to the proprietors; and he was seconded in his application, by an address from the principal merchants in London, trading to Carolina. It was several weeks before he could prevail upon the proprietors to call a board; and when this was obtained, all his efforts were useless. The conduct of Lord Granville at this meeting is deserving of notice. Mr. Archdale, one of the proprietors, who had been governor of Carolina in the reign of King William, having argued against the Test Bill with such solid reasons as could not be confuted, the Palatine made him this short answer: "Sir, you are of one opinion, and I am of another; and our lives may not be long enough to end the controversy: I am for this Bill, and this is the party that I will head and countenance." Mr. Boon having prayed to be heard by counsel, the same noble Lord, in the tone of an eastern sultan, replied, "What business has counsel here? It is a prudential act in me; and I will do as I see fit. I see no harm at all in this Bill, and am resolved to pass it." Against such reasoning, it is in vain to argue.

Happily for the colonists, they had the power of appealing to a higher authority than his lordship.

Baffled in his attempts to procure justice from the proprietors, Mr. Boon, instructed by the colonists, and supported by the merchants of London, brought the affair before the House of Lords, by a petition, presented the 12th of March, 1705. The effect was, that after a full hearing of the case, the Lords came to the following resolutions: "First, that it is the opinion of the House, that the late Act of the Assembly in Carolina, intitled, 'an Act for the establishment of religious worship, &c., as far as it relates to the establishing a commission for the displacing of rectors, &c.' is not warranted by their charter, or consonant to reason, but repugnant to the laws of this realm, and destructive to the constitution of the Church of England. Secondly, that the late Act there, for the more effectual preservation of the government, by requiring all members of the Commons House of Assembly to conform to the religious worship of the Church of England, is founded upon falsity in matter of fact, is repugnant to the laws of England, contrary to the Charter, an encouragement to Atheism and irreligion, destructive to trade, and tends to the depopulating and ruining of the said province." At the same time, an address was voted to the queen, beseeching her "to use the most effectual methods to deliver the said province from the arbitrary oppressions under which it now lies; and to order the authors thereof to be prosecuted according to law." The matter being referred to the Lords of the Committee of Trade, they found all the facts charged upon the promoters of the above Bills to be true; and represented to her majesty, "That the making such laws is an abuse of the power granted to the proprietors by their Charter, and will be a forfeiture of such power." They further humbly offered to her majesty, "That she would be pleased to give directions for re-assuming the same into her

majesty's hands, by *scire facias*, in her majesty's Court of Queen's Bench." This representation was signed by Lord Dartmouth, and the other members of the board, and being approved by the queen, she declared the laws therein mentioned to be null and void, and ordered the attorney and solicitor-general to proceed against the Charter by way of *Quo Warranto*. In the midst of these proceedings Lord Granville died, and with him the power of the faction he had so zealously espoused. The interference of the British government compelled the colonists to retrace their steps, and by repealing the obnoxious bills, to restore peace to the province.*

It was during the agitation of the business in parliament, that De Foe published his pamphlet, intitled "Party Tyranny: or an Occasional Bill in Miniature; as now practised in Carolina. Humbly offered to the Consideration of both Houses of Parliament. London: printed in the year 1705." 4to. pp. 30. He commences by asserting the right of the people to petition, and the readiness of parliament to redress their injuries. "Still," adds he, "they are but men, and cannot be supposed to know the grievances of the subject 'till they are laid before them; and this is both the reason and justification of this book." Of its contents he says, "It contains a short but true abridgment of high-church tyranny; a compendium of various kinds of oppression practised on English subjects by fellow-subjects, in the face of that government, which being established on the neck of tyranny, has openly declared against all sorts of invasion of English liberty." De Foe speaks highly of the constitution of Carolina, which, if rightly administered, he considers the best settlement in America. But, as no human foresight can

* Oldmixon's Brit. Emp. in America, i. 325—367. Calamy's Acc. i. 686—8. Anc. Univ. Hist. xl. 419—435.

prevent the best institutions from being invaded by bad men, when armed with power, and bent upon the ruin of the people, when legal remedies fail, resistance becomes the duty of those who value their rights, and will not tamely submit to oppression. Applying his favourite maxim to the present case, he says, "When any body of men, representative or other, acting by or for a constitution from which they receive their power, shall act or do, or make laws or statutes destructive of the constitution, that power is *ipso facto* dissolved, and revolves of course into the original power, from whence it was derived. From hence it must follow, that upon known depredations of common liberty, breach of the capitulations of government between the governors and the people of Carolina; the people, without doubt, by right of nature as well as by the constitution, revolve under the immediate direction and government of the English empire, whose subjects they were before, and from whom their government was derived."

De Foe gives a summary account of the settlement of Carolina; an abridgment of its constitutions; the addresses presented to the proprietors by the agents of the colony; and a variety of other documents relating to the affairs of the province. "The petitions and remonstrances of the people of all persuasions," says he, "demonstrate that the oppression is universal, the grievance extraordinary, and that redress has been sought for in vain from the proprietors." He therefore examines, "How far the constitution itself is dissolved, and the right returns to the people, to establish themselves upon such foundations of justice and liberty, as that it may no more be in the power of usurping thieves and oppressors to injure and disturb them."

"Free to choose for their own share,
What case of government they please to wear,

If to this lord, or that, they do commit
The reins of rule, ———
All men are bound in conscience to submit;
But, then, that lord must give his free assent,
To *Postulatas* of the government:
Which if he breaks, he cuts off the entail,
And right retreats to its original."

De Foe concludes his pamphlet with some reflections upon the violence offered to liberty, in the affair of the Test, which took its origin in England, and plainly unfolded the designs of the party. These, he represents to be nothing less than the suppression of religion and property, and the introduction of slavery by an artifice adopted by the high party, in order to render it palatable to the people. "If this be the effect of Occasional Bills, and English persecution," says he, "no wonder it was declared contrary to the christian religion; but sure, these are the first men that ever made a law, though it has been elsewhere aimed at, with such a declaration upon its title." (A)

The violent temper of the Tories in England, heightened

(A) The cause of the colonists was ably pleaded in another pamphlet, intitled, "The Case of Protestant Dissenters in Carolina, shewing how a Law to prevent Occasional Conformity there, has ended in the total subversion of the Constitution in Church and State. Recommended to the serious consideration of all that are true friends to our present establishment. *Mutato nomine de te Fabula narratur.* Lond. 1705." pp. 42. With an Appendix of Original Documents, filling sixty-seven pages. The author was John Archdale, one of the proprietors, and formerly a well-respected and upright governor of the colony. His connexion with its affairs afforded him ample means for obtaining correct information upon the subject, and he writes upon it with much judgment and good feeling. As the enlightened friend of civil and religious liberty, he pleads the cause of both with a force of language that is not to be gainsayed. In painting the oppression of his countrymen, he lays open the designs of a party that was enriching itself upon the spoils of the innocent, while it profaned the name of religion, by persecuting the men of conscience, for the purpose of erecting a profligate dominion that was to despoil them of their liberties.

by their recent disappointment, continued to manifest itself upon various occasions to the close of the session. This bad spirit involved the two Houses of Parliament in continual hostilities, and clogged a variety of measures that originated in a spirit of party. The Lords having passed a Bill for the further preventing the growth of Popery, the Commons seized the opportunity for giving full vent to their hatred to the Dissenters, by adding a clause to involve them in the same disabilities as the Papists. The Lords, however, had no intention to turn the edge of the Bill against them, and, to avoid such an extremity, preferred giving up the measure. To prevent any further altercation between the two Houses, the queen put an end to the session, the 14th of March, 1705, and the Parliament was soon afterwards dissolved. The speech with which she dismissed them, contained an indirect censure of their proceedings, and recommended prudence and moderation, especially to those who maintained public stations.

Upon the events just recorded, a writer of this reign has the following remarks:—"Thus, after three impotent struggles for the establishment of spiritual tyranny, the high-church squadrons were forced to give way, and true English principles of moderation possessed the field. Many of their best troops had fallen from their side before, from a dislike of those violent efforts, and left the abandoned cause to be fought only by a few desperadoes, supported only by a flying party of helpless insignificant priests. Her majesty, convinced of the wrong use they had made of her exhortations to peace, and finding their stubborn humours no way melted by a royal goodness which would have engaged even savages to a compliance, at last pointed out the narrow escape they had made from those warm principles, and hoped it would be a sufficient warning against any such dangerous experiments for the future."

Enraged at the defeat of their schemes in parliament, the

Tories were now obliged to content themselves with giving a more harmless vent to their malice. This was showered down in abundance upon the queen and her ministers, upon the bishops and the moderate part of the clergy, and upon all who did not run with them in the same career of madness. Availing themselves of the infatuation which always accompanies a blind zeal for religion, they thought of advancing their designs by alarming the people for the safety of the church, of which they wished to be considered as the only sound members, and the legitimate protectors. The proceedings of these gentlemen of the torrid zone, are thus described by the writer just quoted. "Her majesty, for whom they had lately expressed the deepest veneration, was excluded from mercy by the warrant they acted under. Both declamations from pulpit and press, were the first call to arms, and in direct opposition to that peace and unity so often inculcated from the throne. The poor church was represented in the common-place wit as crucified between two thieves; though some were of opinion she had been put to the torture in King James's time, by some of her staunch defenders under the inquisition of an High Commission Court. Others exercised their low wit and spleen in quibbling over the motto *semper eadem*. Several fables and hieroglyphics were published to intimate the danger of holy church; that their nursing mother was no better than a dry nurse to it, and had withdrawn her affections. These were the first loyal paces of that humble passive race, and their progress was equal."*

The share that was taken by the clergy in these proceedings, is thus glanced at by De Foe. "From whence proceed the incessant clamours at the queen, the railings, the lampoons upon the government, the vilifying even the clergy and prelates of your own church? Come they not hence; even from the

* Impartial View, p. 17, 18.

mouths of the clergy of that church which owns her majesty as supreme head, and those very reverend prelates, as fathers in God? How is the pulpit daily profaned with invectives, satires, and recriminations, instead of sermons and expositions of the sacred text? How are you thundering out curses and exclamations to stir up the spirit of strife in the people, the constant business of the Lord's day? while the good people who come to church for spiritual instruction, are frighted and sent home full of apprehensions for their innocent neighbours." De Foe adds, "This want of all modesty and good manners has so entirely possessed some of this sort, that they run out into all manner of unchristian and unmannerly insolencies; and this not against the Dissenters only, but against all the men of temper and moderation in their church; against all who will not run with them to the same excesses, and this up to the highest quality in church and state."*

Upon a review of these things, he asks, "What are all the railings at the queen, as deserting the church; at the bishops, as Presbyterians; at the low church party, as pulling down the church; but blowing the mischief up to a heighth, in order to bring us all into confusion? The authors of these inconsistencies and ridiculous suggestions, ought to be esteemed as enemies to the government, and disturbers of the public peace; as they would in any government but this, which strives to win men by its moderation, and if removed, would soon convince the world, that these furious sons of Jehu would with the world turn the church upside down."† Our author adds, "When they charge her majesty with abandoning the church, any man that knows but the outside of things, would expect to find the organs pulled down in her Chapel-royal, and a long cloak in the pulpit instead of the gown; that the queen had changed her chaplains, and Dan. Burgess might be expected there, rather than the Bishop of Norwich." As

* Review, ii. 174. † Ibid, ii. 194, 195.

none of these things had taken place, De Foe justly remarks, that the queen had taken rather an odd method of pulling down the church.*

With the amiable design of composing the differences of the nation, De Foe published soon after the rising of parliament, his "Advice to all Parties. By the author of the 'True-Born Englishman.' London: printed, and are to be sold, by Benj. Bragg, at the Blue-Ball in Ave-Mary Lane. 1705. Price Sixpence." 4to. pp. 24. We learn from the preface, that this tract had been written a considerable time, and was seized with his other papers, by the Earl of Nottingham. "These sheets," says he, "having with their unhappy author fallen into the barbarous and unjust hands of the late ministry, had never seen the light, had not Providence seemed to reserve them for two ends: First, as a standing monument of the dexterous management of a certain most exquisite statesman, whose strictest scrutiny all these papers passed, and yet came home as things relating to the author's private concerns, and with them several other manuscripts, which nobody but such an over-vigilant minister would have parted with: And, secondly, as a subject for which there was yet a more proper juncture coming when it would be more than ordinarily useful. They were wrote three years ago, just at the election of the last parliament; but, with very few alterations, seem so exactly calculated to the present occasion, that the author thought he could do no less than let the world see them. He hopes the advice may be useful; the utmost ambition of all his actions. He is sure it cannot be offensive to any man whose principle is the good of his country. The tendency of this, as of all he writes, is the general peace of parties; a subject never to be sufficiently pursued and embraced by all honest men in this

* Review, iii. 190.

nation, as that without which we are undone at home, ruined abroad, and must at last fall a prey to the invading power of popery and foreigners.

Those who are alarmed for Catholic Ascendancy, in the present day, and upon that account, would leave the brand of exclusion upon a large portion of their fellow-subjects, may read an antidote to their fears, in the following passage: "Popery and slavery will never go down with this nation. Popery is so formidable a thing, that the very name of it would set the whole nation in an uproar. Those who do not understand it, hate it by tradition; and I believe there is a hundred thousand plain country-fellows in England, who would spend their blood against Popery, that do not know whether it be a man or a horse."

To the men of fury, who were for renewing former scenes of persecution, De Foe addresses some caustic observations. He calculates the Dissenters in England, by a modest computation, at about two millions, and says, "I would fain ask the hottest-headed Church-of-England-man what he would have done with them? Hanged, all hanged, says Furioso. Aye, Sir, if you could fight as well as talk, it may be you might do it. But they won't be hanged, and how will you make them? 'Twas tried once, and nothing was got by it but blows, and that two for one. Suppose you would banish them, and suppose they would go, 't would ruin you all to part with them.

They are not only numerous, but wealthy; your trade would remove with them; they would carry with them so much of your cash and wealth, you would be in a worse case than the Israelites left the Egyptian ladies, without their jewels. I cannot see the policy of the Church of England in suppressing the Dissenters. Convert them they cannot. To what purpose, then, is all this puffing? Is it only that you want to be plundering your neighbours? Why, if you are so for plunder, take arms and go and plunder the

French. But, I ask pardon; I forgot your principles; you are for plunder without fighting.—'Tis impossible for wise men to resist demonstration. The consequence of things has brought, I had almost said, all the wise men of the Church, and I would to God it were true, to see the absolute necessity of peace; to see that an union of parties is the only step to this nation's settlement; that a recess from party-rage, and healing the wounds of the state, is the only method to prevent the nation falling into convulsions, fevers, calentures, and death."

An attempt to support the falling cause of intolerance, was now made by a Tory writer, already quoted in this work. The title of his publication, which is very significant of the work, is "The History of Faction, alias Hypocrisy, alias Moderation, from its first Rise, down to its present Toleration in these Kingdoms. Wherein its Original and Increase are set forth, its several Contrivances to subvert the Church and State, apparently detected, and the Steps it has made towards getting into the Supreme Power, from the Reformation to the Rising of the last Parliament, are considered. *Malus ubi Bonum simulat tunc est Sessimus.* SENECA. It is certain that a Man shall not see such horrible Monsters in the Papacy, as where the Gospel is preached and professed; for they will say, they are Reformed, and yet they seem to be Devils Incarnate; neither have we need to go far off for such sights. Calvin. Serm. 10 in Epis. ad Ephes. London: Printed and Sold by Ben. Bragg. 1705." 8vo. pp. 176. In a copy of this book before the writer, it is ascribed, in an old handwriting, to Colonel Sackville Tufton. In the course of the work, the author intimates that he was then advanced in life, and in his younger days had been conversant in employments about the Court. When the Prince of Orange landed, his regiment was quartered at Canterbury; and he intimates, that it was owing to the treachery of Sunderland,

rather than to any want of good will upon his part, that he did not assist in driving him back again. The downfal of the late high-church administration, was with him a matter of serious regret; and the only happiness he could enjoy in the then gloomy state of the political horizon, was to bespatter the moderate men of all parties with the overflowings of his gall. The work is not destitute of point; but the talents of the writer are ill-bestowed in the support of slavery and priestcraft, which he strangely confounds with liberty and religion. His review of politics and parties in England, both before and after the Revolution, is amusing for its prejudices, and not without its use, as conveying an accurate idea of the genuine feelings of a Tory, upon the leading transactions of that eventful period. The abuse he showers upon King William, and the Whigs, is quite in character with his eulogiums upon the patrons of intolerance; he therefore confers a distinction upon De Foe, by associating his name with those terms of reproach which he bestows upon some of the most illustrious men in the nation.

The triumph of Toryism, under the fostering care of a Stuart, was auspicious to the secular views of churchmen, as well in the schemes that were devised for the benefit of the ecclesiastical orders, as in those for the oppression of other sects. The convocation which had been dormant in the last reign, was again put in activity, and furnished new evidence, if any were wanting, of the danger resulting from such assemblages of the clergy. Emulating the Commons in their rancorous feelings towards other sects, they equally vied with them in the contentious character of their proceedings. Intoxicated with the brief power derived to them from the days of ignorance, the appetite for encroachment involved the clergy of the Lower House in conflicts with their superiors. Far from practising the obedience they preached to others, their proceedings were regulated neither by decency nor good

manners, but were such as might be expected from tumultuous demagogues. Desirous of subjecting the civil power to an ecclesiastical supremacy, they respected the former no farther than it contributed to that object; in the support of which they brought precedents from the dark ages, and the monstrous usurpations of the church of Rome. Strengthened in their pretensions by the patronage of the Tories, they defied the authority of the prelates of the Upper House, and insulted all who would not bend their necks to the yoke they would have fastened upon the nation. The contests between the two houses of convocation, and of the clergy of the Lower House, amongst themselves, were, perhaps, a fortunate occurrence, as it prevented them from interfering with matters which would have affected the rights of individuals.

From the ascendancy of the clergy in this reign, and from the spirit that pervaded the legislature, it might have been supposed that civil government was absorbed in the interests of the church, and that the nation was retracing its steps to former days of priestly domination. In each successive session, the concerns of the church were obtruded upon the notice of Parliament; and laws were enacted either to enlarge her privileges, or to improve the temporal condition of her clergy. In the parliament just concluded, the first fruits and tenths, which had their origin in papal exactions, and had been seized by the crown in the reign of Henry the Eighth, were alienated for the augmentation of small livings; and a clause was added to the act, repealing the statute of mortmain, by which our ancestors had wisely provided against the rapacity of the clergy, and the impostures which they practised with so much success upon mistaken piety. Upon this concession to the church, one of our historians has the following remarks:—"This law having been the first and principal security, both of the liberty of the people, and sovereignty of our princes, the repeal of it was greatly complained of. For, this security being now removed, they

said the clergy were enabled not only to engross the fortunes of private persons, but even to encroach upon the sovereign power; as the priests are recorded to have done in the reigns of King John and other kings. Neither did our wise ancestors alone provide for their own safety, and that of their posterity, by this law, whereby care was taken that the goods of the subject should not be appropriated to religious uses; but the French and the Venetians, and almost all other civilized nations, have established the same, and have such laws still remaining in full force among them to this day, lest, under the specious pretence of departed saints, their all should be swallowed up by a tribe of men, whose formidable abundance of wealth, and insatiable thirst of gain, had heretofore reduced the kingdom itself, as well as the fortunes of all the people, to great distresses." To commemorate this token of the Church's prosperity, a medal was struck, with the following inscription: "PIETAS AUGUSTÆ Primitij's et Decimis Ecclesiæ concessis. MDCCIV." The same writer adds, "And hence now the number of the clergy began to increase exceedingly; and bounty passed in all their discourses as almost the only piety. The arrogance of some of the clergy grew to an incredible heighth. [At length their behaviour became daily worse and worse, till at last they began to think of choosing whomsoever they pleased for members of parliament. Their whole deportment and conversation plainly shewed with what speed they designed to procure to themselves in all things pre-eminence and dominion. At length, as if they had forgot the ancient resolutions and articles of the church of England, and their own oaths, they publicly, in their writings, pressed for a reconciliation with the Gallican church, and endeavoured to reconcile the people to the same project in their discourse. The Archbishop of Canterbury did all that was in his power to restrain this unbounded extravagance, which was not indeed to be allowed in the government; in which he was supported by the greatest part

of the other bishops. But these were opposed by Archbishop Sharp, of York, and Dr. Atterbury, Dean of Carlisle, who boasted that they were the main pillars of the church, and with them also joined the far greater part of the inferior clergy, who, reconciling themselves in some measure to the popish ceremonies, cast scandalous reflections upon such of their order as joined with the Whigs, and called them false brethren! Thus there arose sects in the church, as well as factions in the state; and during the whole time of the confederate war, these animosities seemed to threaten all our counties and towns with the calamities of a civil war."* The state of things here described, became aggravated in he progress of this reign; and the nation was only relieved from it by the extinction of the Stuarts.

* Cunningham, i. 416, 417.

CHAPTER XVI.

De Foe prepares a Second Volume of his Writings.—His Apology for the Publication.—Pieces comprised in it.—He Publishes "The Consolidator."—Character of the Work.—Attacked by various Writers.—And Pirated by the News-venders.—He Publishes "The Experiment."—Account of Abraham Gill.—Attacked by Leslie.—Re-published with a New Title.—An Answer to it, by Hugh James.—De Foe Defends it in his "Review."—Opening of the Haymarket Theatre.—De Foe's Remarks upon it.—And upon the Frequenters of Plays.—Leslie's Libel upon the Whigs and Dissenters.—Specimen of his Logic.—De Foe again Abused by the Hawkers.—He Publishes The "Dyet of Poland."—His Account of the Work.—Specimens of the Poem.—Replies to it.—De Foe employed by Harley upon a Secret Mission.—His Letter to that Minister before his Departure.

1705.

In the early part of the year, De Foe committed to the press a second volume of his writings, containing most of the political pamphlets and satires published by him since the close of his former volume. He announces the collection in the following terms: "The same reason which obtained upon me to expose to the world some of the loose pieces I had formerly published singly, in a collection by themselves, hold good for my proceeding to a second volume: viz. that if I do not, somebody else will do it for me. The scandalous liberty of the press, which no man more than myself covets to see rectified, is such, that all manner of property seems prostrated to the avarice of some people; and if it goes on, even reading itself will in time grow intolerable. No author is now capable of preserving the

purity of his style—no, nor the native product of his thought to posterity; since, after the first edition of his work has shown itself, and perhaps sinks in a few hands, piratick printers, or hackney abridgers, fill the world; the first with spurious and incorrect copies, and the latter with imperfect and absurd representations, both in fact, style, and design. 'Tis in vain to exclaim at the villany of these practices, while no law is left to punish them. To let it go on thus, will in time discourage all manner of learning."

De Foe tells us, that he had proposed to give a short history of the several tracts in this collection, but found it too long for a preface. "The Hymn to the Pillory," says he, "seems most to require it. The reader is desired to observe, this poem was the author's declaration, even when in the cruel hands of a merciless as well as unjust ministry; that the treatment he had from them was unjust, exorbitant, and consequently illegal. As this satire, or poem, was wrote at the very time he was treated in that manner, it was taken for a defiance of their illegal proceedings; and their not thinking fit to prosecute him for it, was a fair concession of guilt in their former proceedings, since he was in their power, and, as they thought, not like to come out of it. 'Tis true, some faint show of resentment was made, and the author, though then in prison, never declined the test of it; but they began to see themselves in the wrong, from the very first exerting their cruelty and treachery, and the interest of the party sensibly declined from that very moment. Multitudes of occasions have since that, served to convince the world, that every word of the book he suffered for, was, both literally and interpretively, the sense of the party pointed at." De Foe adds, "I should enlarge on this subject, but that perhaps the world may in some proper season be troubled with the journal of all the proceedings, trials, treaties, and debates upon that head, and the barbarity as well as folly of their

conduct be set in a true light to the world." This narrative, it is probable, he never published. The articles in the volume are eighteen in number, and have been separately noticed in the foregoing pages. (B) His works came to a third edition in 1710, with the addition of a key. "The satire being now pointed by the specification of characters, and obscurities being illuminated by the annexation of circumstances, a numerous class of readers were induced by their zeal of party, or desire of scandal, to look for gratification from our author's treatises. He is studious to complain, *That his writings had been most neglected of them, who at the same time have owned them useful.*"* (C)

It was probably to recruit his circumstances, that De Foe now employed himself in composing a political satire in prose, which he published the 26th of March, under the title of "The Consolidator; or Memoirs of sundry Transactions from the World in the Moon. Translated from the Lunar Language, by the Author of 'The True-Born Englishman.' London: printed, and are to be sold by Benjamin

(B) The following are the pieces in this volume. 1. New Discovery of an Old Intrigue. 2. More Reformation. 3. Elegy on the Author of the True-Born Englishman. 4. The Storm; An Essay. 5. A Hymn to the Pillory. 6. Hymn to Victory. 7. The Pacificator. 8. The Double Welcome to the Duke of Marlborough. 9. Dissenters' Answer to the High-Church Challenge. 10. A Challenge of Peace to the Whole Nation. 11. Peace without Union. 12. More Short Ways. 13. New Test of the Church of England's Honesty. 14. Serious Inquiry. 15. The Dissenters Misrepresented. 16. The Parallel. 17. Giving Alms no Charity. 18. Royal Religion.

* Chalmers's Life of De Foe, p. 28.

(C) This third edition is thus advertised in the *Review*, for Dec. 9, 1710. "Next week will be published, the third edition of a True Collection of the Writings of the Author of the True-Born Englishman, corrected and enlarged by himself. In two volumes, octavo, price 12*s*. Sold by John Morphew, near Stationers' Hall, and most booksellers in England."

Bragg, at the Blue Ball, in Ave-Mary Lane. 1705." 8vo. pp. 360. This is by no means one of his best performances. (D) In the multifarious subjects handled by him, he discovers more reading and good sense, than he does taste or judgment in the cast of the performance. There are in it, however, many passages of well-pointed satire, as well as much information relating to the politics of the times; but it is chiefly valuable for the allusions to his personal circumstances. In the lunar language, he shoots his arrows at the follies of the times, and leaves few characters untouched, from the hair-brained politician to the "men of little minds," whom he endeavours to arouse by his satire. In his progress, he takes in the poets, from Dryden to D'Urfey; the wits, from Addison to Prior; the metaphysicians, from Malbranche to Hobbes; and the free-thinkers, from Asgill to the Tale of a Tub.

Soon after the appearance of De Foe's book, it was attacked in "The Moon Calf: or Accurate Reflections on the 'Consolidator.' Giving an account of some Remarkable Transactions in the Lunar World. Transmitted hither in a Letter to a Friend. By the Man in the Moon. Price, bound, 2*s.* 6*d.*" Advertised in the *Review*, April 21, 1705. The author was Dr. Joseph Browne, a physician in no great repute, and better known in his day as a political writer; but both his medicine and his politics have been long since consigned to oblivion. In the above work, he employs banter, ill-language, and falsehood, to detract from

(D) "The Consolidator is one of the last of De Foe's writings a reader of the present day would find pleasure in; but it deserves notice, if on no other account, for this reason, that it certainly contains the first hints of many of the ideas which Swift, many years afterwards, embodied in Gulliver, particularly in his account of Laputa, the book-making machine, &c. &c. It contains, moreover, a great many bye-hits against all the authors of the time, from Dryden to Tim. D'Urfey."—*Pref. to Cadell's ed. of Robinson Crusoe.*

our author; who replies with calmness, declining to return railing for railing, personal reflections being none of his business. "I have often advanced it as my opinion," says he, "that when an enemy begins to rave, he is certainly beaten. Asserting of falsehoods provokes me not; a refuge of lies will in the end expose the author, not the adversary."* Dr. Browne, having accused De Foe of cherishing anger, he replies, "As to the remarks on his *Moon Calf*, which by the way is easy to be known for his, besides the similitude of the brat to the begetter, he is mistaken when he says the author of this is angry at it; for when he descends to want of sense, as in his first paragraph; want of manners, as in the second, third, and fourth pages; and want of truth, as in most of that book, he is below any man's anger."†

The "Consolidator" was also attacked by Tutchin, in the "Observator," where he applies his critical powers in anatomizing a compound word invented by De Foe, to describe his lunar politics; but in this case, it was merely a pretext for attacking a rival author. De Foe was not anxious to seek a quarrel with a writer who was labouring in the same cause as himself, and assures him he shall give himself no trouble to confute his mistakes in print, but answer his follies as he had always done, with the contempt of silence: "Nor had I done otherwise now," continues he, "but as moved to it in my own just defence against absurd and malicious untruths."‡

The "Consolidator" gave birth to two half-sheet tracts, intitled, "A Journey to the World in the Moon, &c. By the Author of the 'True-Born Englishman.' Printed in the year 1705." 4to. And "A Second and more Strange Journey to the World in the Moon; containing a comical Description of that remarkable Country, with the Characters and Hu-

* Review, ii. 149. † Little Review, No. ii. p. 14.

‡ Review, ii. 135.

mours of the Inhabitants, &c. By the Author of the 'True-Born Englishman.' Printed in the year 1705." 4to. At the end of the first tract is the following advertisement: "There is now in the press, and will speedily be published, 'A Letter from the Man in the Moon, to the Author of the True-Born Englishman,' containing variety of diverting news, and comical intrigues relating to the present posture of Affairs in Europe." All these were piracies from the author's book, and cried about the street at a low price, for the benefit of some needy printer.

De Foe, who was always upon the alert to improve any incident that occurred for illustrating the temper of the high party, seized upon one of an atrocious nature that happened at this time, the particulars of which he detailed in a pamphlet, intitled "The Experiment; or, the Shortest Way with the Dissenters exemplified. Being the case of Mr. Abraham Gill, a Dissenting Minister in the Isle of Ely, and a full account of his being sent for a soldier, by Mr. Fern, (an Ecclesiastical Justice of Peace) and other Conspirators. To the Eternal Honour of the Temper and Moderation of High Church Principles. Humbly dedicated to the queen. London: printed and sold by B. Bragg, at the Blue Ball, in Ave-Mary Lane, 1705." 4to. pp. 58. Of the subject of his narrative, De Foe gives the following particulars, which he says he received from undoubted authority.

ABRAHAM GILL was born about the year 1665, at Rivington, in Lancashire, and had his education partly amongst the Dissenters, but finished it at Brazen-Nose College, Oxford, where he commenced B. A. After spending about two years in the family of Lord Willoughby, of Parham, he took orders in the Church of England in 1692, from Nicholas Stratford, Bishop of Chester. His first charge was the curacy of Maney, about twelve miles from Wisbeach, in the Isle of Ely. Here he continued two years, preaching twice

on the Sunday, contrary to the usual practice of the neighbouring clergy; and conducting himself, as appears by a certificate from his parishioners, in a regular and exemplary manner. In 1695, he accepted an invitation from the inhabitants of Wilney, a hamlet in the parish of Upwell, in the same county, to officiate in a privileged chapel there, the custom of the place empowering the people to elect their own minister. Here he continued about seven years, preaching twice a day, and conforming in all respects to the usages of the Church of England. At length he became dissatisfied with the liturgy, and dropped such parts as he disliked; until his scruples increasing, he determined upon omitting it altogether. As the chapel was exempt from ecclesiastical jurisdiction, he did not consider himself under the same obligation to conformity as if it had been a parish church: he therefore chose to stand upon the footing of the law; although, as things then stood, he would perhaps have exercised a sounder discretion in withdrawing altogether. Dr. Gregg, the rector of Upwell, hearing of his proceedings, went to remonstrate with him, and threatened to put in another curate; but Mr. Gill satisfying him that he held the chapel by a title over which he had no authority, he desisted from giving him any further trouble.

Some time afterwards, the living falling into the hands of Mr. Hugh James, a man of a different temper, he resolved to strain his authority to the utmost to get rid of Gill; and De Foe relates a long series of persecutions by which he at length effected his purpose. Having quitted Wilney, he removed into Lincolnshire, where his enemies pursued him, and manufactured some fictitious charges, upon which he was thrown into prison; but failing in their appearance, he was released without a trial. This barbarous usage, coupled with his known innocence, created such an interest for him in the inhabitants of Upwell, that many of them invited him to settle there as a dissenting minister. To this he consented,

and having duly qualified according to law, a place of worship was licenced in the archdeacon's court at Norwich. Here fresh troubles awaited him; for, having removed his cause by *certiorari* into the Queen's-bench, his enemies applied for a *habeas corpus* to commit him to Norwich jail. There he remained until the assizes, under the serious charges of felony, forgery, trespass, contempt, and other crimes and misdemeanours, which not being proved against him, he was discharged.

Mr. Gill being restored to his people, James and his curate, Lateward, threatened to send him to prison again if he presumed to preach in their parish. It was not long before they made good their threat; for, having procured a warrant against him for breeding disturbances in the parish by holding a conventicle, he was taken before a justice of the peace, and committed to the jail at Wisbeach. The quarter-session was allowed to pass over without any notice being taken of him, and he remained in prison until the assizes, which were to come on the 26th of April, 1704, when he looked for his discharge. To prevent his slipping them in this way, the two parsons conspired with some neighbouring justices to have him impressed for a soldier. It was in vain that he pleaded his profession, that he was a freeholder of Lancashire, and a freeman of the corporation of Wigan. Being delivered over to the soldiers, he was marched forty miles to Cambridge, where he was arrested for debt, and lodged in the Tolbooth. His enemies now raised a hue and cry after him as a deserter, and Fern, a clerical justice, issued a warrant for his apprehension. It was now high time for him to take sanctuary in the law. His first step was to move for a *habeas corpus* to discharge him from the enlistment, and a rule of court against the conspirators. These being readily granted, he made up matters with his creditors, and, after seven weeks imprisonment, returned to Wilney, where his wife and family were

reduced to great distress. Here fresh vexations were prepared for him by his enemies to elude justice; and with the recital of these, De Foe's narrative concludes.

This work soon drew upon the author a host of enemies. Leslie abused him in his "Rehearsals," and reported that the Dissenters had bought up his book for the purpose of distribution; a slander most likely of his own invention. For the work sold but indifferently, and several hundred copies were thrown aside at the bookseller's, as waste paper. In order to help the sale, a new title was printed a year or two afterwards, when the work was advertised as a second edition. It was then called "The Modesty and Sincerity of those worthy gentlemen, commonly called High Churchmen, exemplified in a modern Instance. Most humbly dedicated to her Majesty, and her High Court of Parliament. London: printed and sold by B. Bragg, in Paternoster Row, 1707." This perseverance of De Foe, produced a counter-statement by James, in a work intitled "An Answer to a late Pamphlet, intitled 'The Experiment; or, the Shortest Way with the Dissenters exemplified. Being the case of Abraham Gill, a Dissenting Minister in the Isle of Ely, &c.' Wherein all the Misrepresentations, Falsifications, Forgeries and Perjuries, Counterfeit, and Imposture, contained in that Pamphlet, are clearly detected and proved, by authentic and undeniable evidence. London: printed for J. Morphew, near Stationers'-Hall, 1707." pp. 46. It is remarkable that this work should not have made its appearance until two years after the publication that provoked it; and the reasons assigned for the delay are no less singular. If Gill was the man represented by the writer, he must have been a notorious impostor, and richly deserved punishment. The neglect of proceeding against him, seems to throw discredit upon the cause of his opponents; whilst, on the other hand, he seems culpable in not vindicating his character in a Court of Justice, from the

imputations here cast upon it. The affidavits are strong upon both sides; and it is evident much perjury must have been committed in the affair.

Upon this counter-statement of Gill's case, De Foe satisfies himself with some remarks in his *Review*. "All the clamours which were raised at the poor man," says he, "at his orders, which they said were forged; at his morals, which they say are vicious, are answered with this.—The law is open, prove and punish. They alleged his orders were forged, but because they had not the forged copy, they could not proceed to prove. We produce the copy they pretended was forged, and offered to go to trial; but then, no more news of prosecution. They alleged they could not punish because the man was fled, and could not be found; we produced the man, and offered to give bail for his standing judgment. The man is in being still, dwells upon the spot, preaches to his people, and they have nothing to say to him, but to emit the slander of a sulphurous tongue. But to buoy up their own reputation, and raise a dust against the book, which distresses and pinches them, they cause it, as they say, to be answered, by saying all the certificates are forged, the affidavits perjured, and the like; calling the poor man a thousand rogues, and bringing in black stories of his character; though by the way, all the crimes they charge him with were committed while he preached in the church, and afford no reason why he should be pressed for a soldier."* De Foe tells us, he wrote his book with so much caution, knowing the front of the party he had to do with, that he did not set down one article without unquestioned authorities, affidavits attested and taken out of court, and certificates with their proper vouchers. As to their authority, he says, the persons are all alive, named at length, and to be produced; and if they can be convicted of falsehood, he shall be the first to acknowledge himself

* Review, v. 463.

imposed upon. To forward the cause of justice, he adds, that he is ready to produce in a court of justice, all the vouchers, authorities, and parties to the "*Experiment*, in order that the case may be legally sifted, and the man punished, if they can justify their proceedings against him.*" In another place, he tells us, the plot was nipped in the bud, by the conviction of some of its agents, who were openly rebuked by the Lord Chief Justice. † (E)

The opening of a new theatre in the Haymarket, upon the 3rd of May, 1705, furnished a new topic for the satire of De Foe, and his *Review*, for that day, is devoted to the subject. "We have lately erected," says he, "at the cost and charge of several pious charitably disposed christians, a noble fabric near the Haymarket, in the liberties of Westminster. The name of the thing (for by its outside it is not to be distinguished from a meeting-house, or any other public building) is a theatre, or in English, a play-house. The use and design of it is, for the encouragement of wit, the entertainment of the ladies, the representation or mis-representation of vice, the encouragement of virtue, and, in short, to contribute to the reformation of our manners. The dimensions of this noble pile, its beauty, its stupendous heighth, the ornament and magnificence of its building, are demonstrations of the great zeal of our nobility and gentry for the encouragement of learning, and the suppression of vice and immorality."

* Review, 468. † Ibid, iv. 612.

(E) Several years after the publication of Gill's case, De Foe was assailed in a pamphlet, intitled, "An impartial Survey of Mr. De Foe's singular modesty and veracity, in presuming to dedicate his 'Experiment' to the Queen. Wherein his Charity, Moderation, and Shortest Way with all Episcopal Churchmen, and in particular the Clergy, is, in various instances, exemplified. To which are added, some Queries, recommended to the Consideration of all unprejudiced Dissenters as well as Churchmen. London: 1710." 8vo. The matter of this work is borrowed chiefly from James's pamphlet, with occasional animadversions upon the *Review*, delivered in a style agreeable to the spirit of the times.

De Foe adds, "After all, he has nothing to say against plays, as such, nor is he so narrow as to think it unlawful either to act or see them, if abstracted from the unhappy circumstances that attend their representation. Nor is he angry at the persons concerned in the theatres, whether as poets or performers. He knows that the taste of the town will not be pleased unless something vicious is brought forward. A serious play is like a game at nothing, and away they go; so that, to reform the stage would be to pull it down; the wit would be lost, and the labour too, and all the players and poets would be starved."

De Foe exhorts the frequenters of the play-house to reform their taste, and to shew their resentment at vice, by hissing it off the stage. "If you find a poet insulting heaven by way of suppressing profaneness; bantering virtue to discourage vice; speaking blasphemy with a grace, to discountenance irreligion; and talking with indecency to set off your modesty; let the impotent buffoon know, by your contempt of his rude essay, that your judgment is no more to be imposed upon than your senses, and that you can distinguish reality from pretence. This would reform the stage to your hands, and you would find these gentlemen are only occasional conformists to vice, because they see you require it; as tradesmen who bring those goods to market that will sell best." De Foe observes, that he should not have brought forward the subject, had he not met with the prologue, "In which," says he, "I own a great deal of wit, but so firmly built upon the old foundation of vice and profaneness, that I cannot imagine but it is an eternal reflection upon the auditory to be pleased with it."*

De Foe was not singular in his philippic against the theatre. As offensive to morals, and a place of dangerous resort for young people, it has been discountenanced by serious persons

* Review, ii. 101—4.

ever since. Tillotson denounced it in no measured terms; and Dunton says, "He that frequents plays, sports on the devil's ground; and if he dies on the spot, the devil, as lord of the manor, has a right to him."

Leslie seizes the occasion, offered by the rearing of this structure, to sport his venom upon the Whigs. "The *Kit-Cat* Club," says he, "is now grown famous and notorious all over the kingdom; and they have built a temple for their dagon, the new play-house in the Haymarket. The foundation was laid, with great solemnity, by a noble babe of grace; and over, or under the foundation-stone, is a plate of silver, on which is graven '*Kit-Cat*' on the one side, and '*Little Whig*' on the other. This is in *futuram rei memoriam*, that after ages may know by what worthy hands, and for what good ends, this stately fabric was erected. And there was such zeal shewed, and all purses open to carry on this work, that it was almost as soon finished as begun; while Paul's work is become a proverb, and the greatest part of our communicants cannot come to our churches for want of room, and there is no zeal or money to be found to build others; while Dan. Burgess, and other Dissenters, can rear cathedrals with as much expedition as that in the Haymarket." Those who are acquainted with the early ecclesiastical buildings of the Dissenters, which displayed but little taste, and were erected for accommodation rather than show, will admire the cant of Leslie, who possessed the happy talent of metamorphosing them into cathedrals, or pig-sties, as suited his convenience. The prologue censured by De Foe, was written, says Leslie, by Dr. Garth, "chaplain to *Kit-Cat*, an open and professed enemy to all religion;" and he is angry that it should be called "The Queen's Play-house." By a logical process, not uncommon with this writer, the Dissenters, notwithstanding their hatred of play-houses, participate in all the guilt con-

* Pref. to Athenian Sport.

tracted by this new structure. For, "are they not all Whigs whom the Dissenters promote at elections? Is not *Kit-Cat* their sanhedrim, their patrons and solicitors, their very saints and only patriots? whose horrid profanations and blasphemies are such as cannot be repeated without polluting the very thought! and would not be suffered in any *christian* country." Whigs and Dissenters, therefore, being of synonimous import, it is no wonder that he likens them to "Simeon and Levi, strict brethren in iniquity."*

Early in the summer of this year, a pamphlet, intitled "Advice to the Ladies. By the author of the 'True-Born Englishman,'" was cried about the streets by the hawkers of news, and eagerly bought up as the work of De Foe; whose name was a passport to popularity, and a constant source of profit to persons of that description. In disavowing the performance, he speaks with becoming indignation against those who practised such a cheat upon the public, and complains that his name was hawked about the street in every ballad; but to publish this abuse to the world as often as it occurred, he tells us, would be to banter himself, and impose upon his friends; "since the similitude between the brats and the fathers will, generally speaking, clear him of the scandal." But, that his friends may be imposed upon as little as possible, he assures them, "That he writes nothing but what he publickly owns, shows his face to, and professes to be his." He says, he had never written any thing for the hawkers; but whatever of his real works had been cried in the streets, was pirated by worthless printers, "a sort of pick-pockets, who get money just about as honestly as others do on the highway, and then justify it by law."*

It was about this time that De Foe committed to the press

* Rehearsal, No. 41, vol. i. p. 251, 2. * Little Review, ii. p. 18.

his political satire, levelled at the late ministers, intitled "The Dyet of Poland; a Satyr. Printed at Dantzick, in the year 1705." 4to. pp. 60. In the preface, to which he signs himself ANGLIPOLOSKI of *Lithuania*, he deprecates the application of his metaphors to English affairs. "As Poland lies almost in the same latitude with England," he says, "so the character the poet here gives of the Poles, seems so exactly to match what some ill-natured people have said of some in England, that he easily foresees this censorious age will be apt to misjudge him, as if he had some oblique meaning, and that this was a satire levelled at some people nearer home than the castle of Warsaw. But the author humbly hopes all such *inuendo-men* will consider, that as they can have no reason to think so, but similitude of characters, so no conjectures of theirs ought to prejudge his meaning, in which he demands to be left to himself, and expects to be understood as he *speaks*, not as every prejudiced man may imagine he *meant*. If any are so weak to tell us, that Smithfield and Cheapside cannot be meant of Poland, the author presumes to ask such people if ever they have been at Warsaw? and if they have, and don't know that there is both a Smithfield and a Cheapside, as well as a May-Fair and a Bear-Garden, he is very sorry for their heads, and desires them to step thither again to reform their memories. 'Tis very hard that a man cannot write of the follies of other nations, but people will be always comparing them with their own. Since, then, this is the fate of authors, and he must expect it, he submits; but desires that these unchristian censurers will take this along with them, and so make a virtue of their want of charity: that wherever the similitude of character pinches them too close, they would prevent the severity of the application, by reforming the likeness; the satire would then have the desired effect. Nor do I apprehend the world would be less solicitous about who is the author? Some perhaps will guess one, some another;

and the hawkers, they tell me, will, according to custom, cry it about the street in the famous name of Daniel De Foe. And though they might as well guess it was wrote by the man in the moon, yet I am content he, or any body else, should go away with the credit of it. 'Tis enough that I am out of the reach of the Polish resentments, and cannot be prosecuted by the Cardinal Primate, most of the persons here touched at being his friends, and all of them in his interest; and as for the rest of the world, they may do their worst." The poem opens with a description of the country:

"In northern climes, where furious tempests blow,
And men more furious raise worse storms below,
Under the Arctic circle of the sky,
Where virtue's streams run low, and nature's high;
A mighty nation throngs the groaning land,
Rude as the climate, numerous as the sand.
Pride, plenty's hand-maid, deeply taints their blood,
And seeds of faction mix the crimson flood;
Eternal discords brood upon the soil,
And universal strifes the state embroil;
Wild aristocracy torments the state,
And people their own miseries create;
Immortal jars in every class appear,
Conceived in strife, and nursed to civil war.
Such, Poland, is thy people, such thy name,
Yet still thy sons our panegyrics claim,
Because their partial genius is inclined
To think they merit more than all mankind!"

Glancing at the former history of the country, he points to King William, under the name of *Sobieski*, who reigned thirteen years with steady glory, to the dissatisfaction only of those who were bent upon mischief. The character of political parties that grasped at power in his reign, is pourtrayed with spirit in the following lines:

"Statesmen are gamesters, sharp and trick 's the play,
Kings are but cullies, wheedled in to pay;

The courtiers foot-balls, kicked from one to one,
Are always cheated, oftentimes undone;
Besieged with flattery, false report and lies,
And soothed with schemes of vast absurdities.
The jangling statesmen clash in their designs,
Fraud fights with fraud, and craft to craft inclines;
Stiffly engage, quarrel, accuse and hate,
And strive for leave to help undo the state."

Several pages are occupied in describing the characters of the leading statesmen, both in this and the former reign. Whilst the poet lavishes his warmest praises upon Halifax, Russell, and Somers, the champions of the Whig party; he deals out his censures with an unsparing hand, upon Nottingham, Rochester, Seymour, Rooke, and other distinguished Tories, who, during their career of power, had lent themselves to measures subversive of the real interests of their country. In the second part, he reviews the late proceedings in parliament, particularly in the matter of the Occasional Bill, and censures the clergy for the active part they had taken in the support of intolerance.

"When once the pulpit-plague infects the land;
And sermon-readers get the upper-hand,
The nation's ruined, all the town's undone,
And tongue-pad evils through the vitals run;
Reason submits its captivated head,
And raging nonsense governs in its stead."

Harley and Godolphin, the leading ministers of the new government, are celebrated for their ability and integrity, and are said by the poet to have owed their elevation to the hair-brained folly of their predecessors.

"Poland, how strangely has thy land been blest,
By fools redeemed, whene'er by knaves opprest:
The graver blockheads of thy tottering state,
Protect thy fame, and help to make thee great.

For when they might thy government o'erthrow,
The harmless things themselves alone undo.
The untrained politicans court their fate;
If knaves were never fools, they'd soon blow up the state."

In point of merit, this is one of De Foe's best poetical satires. Although in general it partakes of the same uncouthness that characterizes the rest of his poetry, yet there are some well-turned passages, and his characters are drawn with animation. It must be confessed that these are sometimes overcharged with asperity, and partake too largely of that political animosity, which then rankled so deeply in the bowels of the nation.

The masked battery from behind which De Foe had issued his missiles against the Tories, did not secure either the author, or his object, from detection. His poem was reprinted with annotations and animadversions, under the following title: "The Dyet of Poland, a Satyr, considered paragraph by paragraph. To which is added, a Key to the whole, with the names of the Author, and the Nobility and Gentry that are scandalously pointed at in it. Lond. printed and sold by Ben. Bragge, in the year 1705." 8vo. pp. 64. The work was also handled with great severity by another writer, in "The Case of the Church of England's Memorial fairly stated."

Whilst De Foe was preparing his "Dyet of Poland," he was appointed by Harley to execute some mission, of a secret nature, which required his presence upon the continent. Of the nature of the service it is now impossible to give any account; but it appears to have been attended with some danger, and to have required his absence for about two months. The minister, who was well acquainted with his enterprising character, was justified in his choice, by the able and fearless manner in which he discharged his trust; and he appears to have been so well satisfied, that upon his

return, he procured him an appointment at home as a reward for his services. Before his departure he had several interviews with Harley, and a letter written by him to that minister, but a few days before, is still preserved in the British Museum. It is as follows:

"Sir,—I cannot but retain a very deep sense of the candor and goodness w^th^ w^ch^ you rec^d^ me last night. The perticulars, Sir, admitt of no epithets to illustrate y^m^: it remaines to me onely to tender you all y^e^ acknowlegem^t^ of a grateful temper highly obliged. Persuant, Sir, to y^e^ plainess I have yo^r^ leave to use, the enclosed papers are written for y^r^ perusall. They are observations from y^e^ discourse of y^e^ town on y^e^ affair of y^e^ fleet: 'tis an unhappy subject, and I assure you, there is much less than is discoursed on that head. I have onely one thing to premise, and which I entreat you to believe of me—that I have no manner of personall design as to Sir George R———: I neither kno' him, nor am concerned with him, or w^th^ any that does kno' him, directly or indirectly. I have not the least disrespect for him, or any personal prejudice, on any account whatsoever. I hope you will please to give full credit to me in this, otherwise it would be very rude and presuming to offer you y^e^ paper. I am preparing w^th^ joy to execute your commands for Thursday next, and furnishing myself with horses, &c.; and entreat y^e^ liberty, since y^e^ time is short, and I cannot expect to see you often, of troubling you the more w^th^ my visits of this sort, and fill you w^th^ my short requests. First S^r^ that you will be pleased to order y^r^ letter of leave for Mr. *Christopher Hurt*, (probably a name he assumed for the occasion) to be absent on his private affaires for two months or more. That you will please to think of some instruccons for my speciall conduct; and whether it may not be proper for me to have

something about me like a certificate, pass, or what you think fit, to prevent being questioned, searcht, or detained, by any accident, w^ch often happens on the road; the nature and manner of such a thing I remit to y^r judgement. It will be very necessary that I should be provided against y^e impertinence of a country justice. The poem, S^r of y^e Diet of P—d, I omitted to mension to you last night; but certainly t'will be very necessary to carry into y^e country with me; and as I am sure of its being very usefull, I cannot but importune you to let me perfect it, and turn it abroad into the world. I expect strange effects from it as to y^e house. The other papers which I purposed to furnish, I referr, w^th y^r license to send you per post: Perticularly some notes relating to y^e Parliam^t and a scheme of an office for secret intelligence, at home and abroad. This last, as I kno' you are not ignorant of the vallue, y^e magnitude, and necessity of y^e design, w^th y^e want of such a thing in this na-ion, so I shall take time, while I am abroad, to finish a perfect scheme, and such a one as I hope you will approve, and put in practice; that, if possible, the affaires of all Europe may lye constantly before you in a true light, and you may kno' what is a doeing all over Europe, even before 'tis a doeing; and in this weighty particular, go beyond all that ever were in that place before you. I confess S^r I had the enclosed papers in my pocket when I was w^th you, but was unwilling to rob myself of so much of y^r obliging conversation as to produce y^m. I commit y^m to your serious thoughts as a subject (pardon me if I think amiss,) not at all trivial, and at present much wisht for in y^e na-ion. When I, S^r, take the freedom to lay any of these things before you, 'tis for you to judge from as you think fit; I hope you will not find me assuming either a positive determina-ion, or so much as arguing absolutely; I may mistake, the whole town may mistake; though in

this case I doubt they do not. However, I am forward to lay such things before you, because I cannot but think 'tis necessary you should kno' in this, as well as any thing else, what the people say.

I am, S^r^,

Y^r^ most obed^t^ &c." (F)

(F) De Foe's name is not to this letter; but its contents sufficiently authenticate it.—See Birch's MSS. 4291.

CHAPTER XVII.

Parliamentary Elections.—De Foe's Zeal for the Return of Peaceable Members.—His Censure of Bribery and Corruption.—Announces a Work upon the Subject.—Lays it Aside.—His Account of the Disturbances at Coventry.—He is Threatened for his Freedom.—And Ridicules his Assailants.—The Elections terminate in favour of the Whigs.—Drake's "Mercurius Politicus."—Violence of the Tories.—Some Sticklers for the Church Characterized.—De Foe Unmasks their Pretences.—And Satirizes their Measures—His Description of a High-Flyer.—Account of "Drake's Memorial of the Church of England."—Reflections upon the Politics of his Party.—The work presented by the Grand Jury.—And Burnt.—Proclamation to Apprehend the Author.—De Foe recommends its Dispersion as the best Antidote.—He Satirizes it in the "Review."—And Answers it in "The High Church Legion."—De Foe Attacked in a Pamphlet by Pittis.—Toland publishes "The Memorial of the State of England."—It is attacked by Stephens.—For which he is Prosecuted.—Toland draws up a Reply.—But suppresses it.

1705.

The parliamentary elections that took place this summer, gave rise to fresh contests in the nation. Each party put out its strength to secure the return of favourite candidates, and the press was industriously employed for the same object. An active politician like De Foe, could not remain silent upon so important an occasion; he, therefore, caused his voice to be heard in the *Review*, which he devoted to the interests of liberty and good feeling. He strongly reprobates the violence manifested by the people; exposes the pretensions of the high-flyers; and earnestly exhorts his countrymen to choose men of peace and good morals,

who have ability to serve the state, and are zealous for the Protestant religion.

Being himself a freeholder, and having a vote for the city, in right of his livery, he had often noticed with concern the bad practices that took place at elections. "We have lately had two or three Acts of Parliament," says he, "to prevent bribery and corruption at elections. I have already noted that we have in England the best laws the worst executed of any nation in the world. Never was treating, bribing, buying of voices, freedoms, and freeholds, and all the corrupt practices in the world so open and barefaced, as since these severe laws were enacted." He had, in the early part of the year, advertised a book, intitled "A New Test of the Efficacy and Extent of English Acts of Parliament; being a Collection of the Briberies, Feastings, Drunkenness, Caballings, Treatings, Corruptions, Conveying of Freeholds, making Freemen, and horrid Practices, now in their full and free exercise in this miserably divided Nation, for debauching the Voices of the Electors in the choice of a new Parliament, before the present House is dissolved. Dedicated to the Inhabitants of Cirencester, in the County of Gloucester." The reason he assigns for laying aside the work, is as follows: "When I came to enter into the vast field, I found such an ocean of villany, such a depth of corruption, that it was endless to finish it, having no leisure to write large volumes in folio upon so unpleasant a subject." *

The election for the city of Coventry, afforded a melancholy example of the prevalence of a factious spirit. Of so little avail was the civil power, that large parties of 500 or 1000 upon a side, were to be seen in the streets, drawn up in battle array, and sometimes fighting with all the fury and animosity imaginable. The consequences that followed

* Review, ii. 125.

were such as might be expected to the parties concerned; but they had an unhappy influence upon the freedom of election, many being deterred from voting by mere terror, and others who had no right, taking their place by club-law. De Foe, who appears to have been in the city at the time, gives a curious account of the mode in which the election was conducted. It seems that all freemen had a right to vote, yet there was no list of them, nor was any man sworn at the poll; and as no books were kept, so there could be no such thing as a scrutiny afterwards. De Foe strongly reprehends the conduct of the civil power, for not resorting to legal means to suppress the riots, and bring the offenders to justice. "In vain we talk of peace," says he, "if the mob must prevail over the magistracy, and the club oppress the halbert; no more let us talk of the freedom of elections, if they must be carried by strength of hands, and not by number of voices." He tells them, that "If nothing but troops of horse will keep them quiet, they must thank themselves; the peace must be maintained." For the last sentiment, he drew upon himself the anger of Tutchin, who accused him of wishing to overawe elections, by the presence of the military. But for this imputation, says he, "There is not the least shadow but his own rash and unrighteous conclusion; and no man but Mr. Observator, whose talent is to be abusive, and his temper ungrateful, even from King William himself to me, the meanest of his benefactors, could have forged such a suggestion. The freedom of election is a thing as sacred as any part of our constitution." *

De Foe has many excellent remarks upon the subject of parliamentary elections. He strongly reprobates the undue influence exercised by landlords, magistrates, and clergymen, and observes, that "'Till the freeholders will forbear to be

* Review, ii. 134, 5.

led by persons and parties, and to vote from the sordid motives of interest and submission, it will be impossible they should be well represented." For the freedom with which he delivered himself, he was threatened by his enemies with parliamentary resentment; but he ridiculed the idea as an insult to justice, and a reflection upon the new parliament, as if it would be inimical to peace. "No, gentlemen," says he, "the people of England have learnt better. I have not the vanity to say, I have had a hand in opening their eyes; but I can tell you who has, even the Tackers themselves. That one action has given the greatest blow to the party that ever was given." He was so confident of the value of what he had advanced upon the subject of peace, as to say, "That if a Parliament of Devils were to meet, he resolved to hold his face to it, let the consequence be what it might."*

Although the elections terminated in favour of the Whigs, it was owing more to their own activity and zeal, than to any assistance derived from the ministers, who acted like unconcerned spectators in the contest. This caution and reserve in the court must have proceeded from a temporizing policy; for the elections were no sooner over, than Lord Godolphin declared himself more decidedly in favour of the Whigs, and some further changes were made in the ministry. Sir Nathan Wright gave way to a much more able man in William Cowper, a decided Whig, who was made Lord-Keeper.

The obnoxious measures of the last parliament, now found an advocate in a writer already known to the world, who started a periodical paper, under the following title: "Mercurius Politicus; or, an Antidote to Popular Misrepresentations; containing Reflections on the Present State of Affairs.

* Review, ii. 219.

Printed for Thomas Hodgson, over against Gray's-Inn Gate, in Holborn. 1705." The first number appeared the 12th of June, and it continued to be published twice a week, until a prosecution by the government occasioned its suppression, after a short career of little more than six months. Dr. Drake, the writer, was a violent partizan of the Tories, who screened him from the resentment of the nation for his libels upon the late king. By his writings, in the early part of this reign, he contributed largely towards the inflammable matter that threatened to convulse the state; but his most remarkable publication, as well as one of the most fertile in the production of strife, will be noticed presently.

The mortification of the Tories, at the overthrow of their measures, vented itself in language unrestrained by decency, or a regard to those civil institutions, of which they so loudly affected to be the supporters. Intoxicated by a pretended zeal for the church, which they represented as upon the brink of destruction; but really actuated by political motives, the gratification of which was inconsistent with the rights of their fellow-citizens, they inveighed, with all the bitterness of disappointment, against the queen, the ministers of state, the House of Lords, the bishops, and indeed, all who in any manner stood in the way of their designs. The bigotted part of the inferior clergy, participating in the same narrow views, stunned the nation, from one end to the other, with their senseless harangues, inflaming the passions of the vulgar, and possessing them with imaginary fears, which existed nowhere but in their own stupid minds. To sanctify their pretences, and give them currency with the ignorant, the fiend of darkness must be transformed into an angel of light; and "The devil himself," observes De Foe, "could not have found a more suitable covering." Having agreed to disguise their plot against the liberties of their country under the mask of religion, they accumulated a numerous

party: "And now, being assembled, and the standard erected, the bloody flag held out, they want a motto; and he that had gone thus far was not fool enough to fail them now. He, therefore, gave them an excellent aphorism, concise and short, like their success; deep as their original, and of double-meaning, like the party: it was, in short, this: THE CHURCH IS IN DANGER." *

If inquiry should be made in after ages, whence all this noise and bustle about the danger of the church? posterity will smile to learn that it was only because the queen had thought fit to remove some of her ministers, who were endangering the peace of the nation by their measures, and substituting others who were men of greater moderation. One part of the jest, however, was very remarkable, and, as De Foe observes, cannot but be diverting: it is, "That among the champions of the church, which are dismissed from court, one noted peer is named, who, as all the world knows, never troubled himself with any church, and is not supposed to have any more religion than the deceased Duke of Buckingham." † (G) To the case of John Sheffield, who then bore that title, may be added that of an eminent commoner, who was equally vociferous in his zeal for the church. Sir Edward Seymour, who was a leading man among the Tories, plainly confessed, that it was then seven years since he had either received the sacrament, or heard a sermon, in the Church of England; but yet he was for abridging the

* Review ii. 230. † Ibid. 233.

(G) "Whenever the fever of party shall have cooled in this island, it will be matter of amusement to read the name of John of Bucks. amongst the best friends of the church. It is not, however, a very uncommon circumstance for a person to be destitute of any principles of religion, and yet to be very zealous for some particular form of ecclesiastical government. That a man may, at the same time, be an infidel, a high-churchman, and a persecutor, we are afraid has been too much confirmed by the history of the world."—*Biog. Brit.* v. 318, n.

rights and profits of the Dissenters, who were disabled to take or hold any office of magistracy, or place in the government."* When such men stand forward as props of the church, their motives are to be suspected; and we may well say with our author, "Woe be to the church that has need of such men to hold her up." But when we come to estimate their services, these do not amount to much. "We have seen these hot men out a great while," says De Foe, "some of them more than a year, some two; and pray what has the church lost by their being turned out? We saw them in a year or two, and what did the church gain by them? What security did they bring to the church more than she had before?" †

The men who were so loud in their pretensions to this church-zeal, paid but an ill compliment to the queen, who had always professed herself, and actually behaved like, a dutiful daughter of the church. Nothing would satisfy them, however, but the political extinction of Whigs and Dissenters, and, in short, of all persons who were inclined to pacific measures. "What is it," asks De Foe, "that hinders us from tacking all the Dissenters in England in one bundle, and casting them into the fiery furnace of the high-church's indignation? Nothing but the queen's suffering her zeal for the church's prosperity to be cooled, and smothered with the fatal waters of moderation." ‡

The high clergy were generally Jacobites in principle, although they took the oaths to the government. Such a person is described, by De Foe, as two ways an occasional conformist, and in both a notorious hypocrite. "First, as he is in his heart a subject to the abdicated race of King James, and takes the oath of allegiance merely to save a place or a benefice: secondly, as he occasionally conforms to the present government, on purpose to be thereby the

* Cunningham, i. 317. † Review, ii. 234. ‡ Ibid, 247.

better able to serve the former king, under the cloak of his compliance with this. By the first, he is a hypocrite; by the last, a traitor; and no occasional conformist in the world is more dangerous. A professed Jacobite is an honest fellow to these people. He may deserve pity and allowance; and I would no more persecute a zealous, sincere Jacobite, merely because he is so, than I would a Papist, or any other man, merely for his religion. But, for a man to swear to a government that he abhors; to take pensions, places, and salaries in its service, when in his heart he wishes it overthrown, is certainly to conform to serve a turn; the very hypocrisy he charges upon the Dissenters." *

The following is a striking picture of such men, and not less so of the times: "View him in his party conversation, and where he can be free; you have him there what he really is, a sincere unfeigned subject of his dear king James. He drinks his health on his knees, or any how; and when another begins it, embraces it with joy, and declares he would pledge it if it were poison: he seldom lets it pass without some extraordinary expression of his loyalty, and the imprecation of *confusion to all his enemies*. There goes all his oaths, abjurations, outward appearances, queen and constitution, to the devil at once. If any bad news arrives in England, constant smiles make smooth his countenance, and he earnestly seeks out some brethren of the tribe whom he may safely and freely rejoice with. If the queen goes to St. Paul's, and the nation gives thanks for any victory, the chagrin of his countenance discovers the repinings of his soul; hypochondriac vapours fly into his head, and he is over-run with the spleen. If he be a clergyman, and conforms to save his benefice, you hear him awkwardly praying for the queen in the desk, whilst in heart he abhors the service. If he be a private person, and goes to church, he sits down at the prayers for

* Review, ii. 320.

the queen, whispers his responses in a language of his own, puts a masculine for a feminine, and satisfies himself to join in the service with the same mental reservation as he did when he took the oaths. Thus, he banters God, the nation, and himself; affronts the first, betrays the second, and cheats the last. Under this cloak, he thinks himself at liberty to disturb, disquiet, and embroil the people, that if possible the establishment may be overthrown, and his card turned up a trump. These are the men who would condemn the Dissenters as Occasional Conformists, and yet, at the same time, would bring the whole Church of England to a conformity to Rome, by lessening the difference between them."*

Books were now written and dispersed over the nation with great industry, to possess the people with apprehensions, that the church was about to be betrayed into the hands of the Dissenters. Nothing but the authority from whence they came, could induce the most ignorant to adopt so stupid an idea; but the simple were made the dupes of the crafty, who used them for the furtherance of their own ambition. In aid of the popular insanity, a work was artfully got up at this time, and made more noise, and contributed more to inflame the nation, than anything that had for a long while issued from the press. The title of it was "The Memorial of the Church of England, humbly offered to the Consideration of all the True Lovers of our Church and Constitution. London: printed in the year 1705." 4to. pp. 56.

This strange performance, which sets common sense as well as decency at defiance, opens with a bitter complaint of the persecuted state of the Church of England, and of the favour shewn to the Dissenters; which at the most consisted only in protection from injury. In professional language, the author says, "Those that look no deeper than the surface of things, are apt to conclude without hesitation,

* Review, ii. 321, 2.

that the Church of England is in a very flourishing condition. Its dignities and preferments make a very goodly show, and the patronage of the queen seems to promise a continuance of prosperity. But for all this fine complexion and fair weather, there is a hectic fever lurking in the very bowels of it; which, if not timely cured, will infect all the humours, and at length destroy the very being of it." Upon this, a writer before quoted observes, "Every disinterested man of skill that passed by was clearly of another opinion; observing her florid complexion, the smoothness of her skin, the solidity of her flesh, the strength of her voice, and withal the pendants in her ears, with other graceful ornaments, which she would scarce have worn in a declining state, and concluded, that if she had any irregular heats, they were owing to a slight disorder and ruffle of the spirits, occasioned by some unnecessary fears her unexperienced friends and froward children had thrown in upon her." This cant of bigotry, however, was only to serve a turn; for, "at another time the religious quacks appear like nurses, and own her to be in a more hopeful way than they had given out at first, and that she was too strong to be shaken, but through the treachery or supine negligence of her own sons, or pretended ones; though it is notorious to the world, that her dutiful sons, (as they are pleased to nick-name themselves), have often endangered a suffocation, by too officiously dispensing of volatile spirits and strong cordials, when a cooler regimen was more proper." *

It would be idle to waste words in exposing the nonsense of this writer. It was, in fact, far from new; and in the heated state of the nation, calculated to serve the purposes of party, by inflaming the passions of the ignorant, whilst it could impose upon no one who made any pretensions to common sense. The drift of it went to this: that the Church

* Impartial View of the Two late Parliaments, p. 19.

of England could not reign in her full glory, consistently with the toleration of other sects; that these, therefore, must be despoiled of their privileges as men and as citizens; and if they presumed to murmur, were to be delivered over to the correction of the civil power. The arrogance of the men who could advance such pretensions to the sole rule, could be built only upon the supposition of their power to exact them, and would have comported better with the idea of Papal infallibility, than with any rational scheme of government.

It is curious to observe, that the men who had the impudence to exact so much passive submission from others, had but little notion of practising it themselves. Hence, this author throws out hints of rebellion, if the high-church party is not restored to the pinnacle of power from whence it had fallen. "Perhaps our wise men," says he, "think themselves secure in the passive principles of the church, against any resentments on that side, and therefore bend all their application to get the other, whose temper and principles are more mutinous. If this be their true motive, they may be simple well-meaning men, but must be wretched politicians. The principles of the Church of England will dispose men to bear a great deal; but he's a madman who tries how much. For when men are very much provoked, nature is very apt to rebel against principle, and then the odds are vast on nature's side. Whether the provocation given to the Church of England may not, if continued, be strong enough to rouse nature, some of our statesmen would do well to consider in time. For though the church is not to be wrought up to rebellion, yet they may be so alarmed as to secure themselves at the peril of those ministers who give them the alarm. Nor is it to be expected that they should long bear to be thus used, and see a party, that they know seek their ruin, courted at their expence. But the Treasurer is wise; let him, therefore, look to that, and maturely weigh who are to be provoked at this juncture."

Such an avowal as this was quite unnecessary; for churchmen had already given proof that they can practise resistance when it suits their convenience, as well as other sects.

To these threats, the author of "The Memorial" added many personal invectives of an offensive nature, against the leading officers of the state. A mode of warfare so indecent, could do no otherwise than recoil upon the author. "The Memorial" was presented by the Grand Jury of London and Middlesex, at the Sessions held at the Old Bailey, the 31st of August, when the Court ordered it to be burnt both there and at the Royal Exchange, by the common hangman. The order was executed in the presence of a great multitude of people, and the Court of Aldermen returned thanks to the jury for their loyalty upon the occasion. It also furnished sport for the wits on both sides, as may be seen in the different collections of state poems. But the public notice of it did not rest here. Upon the assembling of parliament, the queen referred to the subject in her speech, which elicited an address from both houses, recommending a prosecution of the offenders. A proclamation was accordingly issued for the apprehension of the author and publisher, but it was some time before the former could be discovered. Upon the 15th of January, 1706, David Edwards, the printer, who had absconded, and was without any means of support, delivered himself into custody, upon a promise in writing from Mr. Secretary Harley, that he should have his pardon, provided he discovered the author. Upon his examination, three days afterwards, he pretended to fix it upon three members of the House of Commons, Mr. Pooley, Mr. Ward, and Sir Humphrey Mackworth. He also related, that the manuscript was brought to him by a woman in a mask, who bargained with him for 250 printed copies, which he delivered to four porters, sent to him by the parties concerned. These agents in the business were afterwards apprehended, but did not lead to any farther discovery;

and Edwards, after being a long while in custody, was discharged. Upon the 21st of the same month, Mr. Harley brought down a message to the Commons, acquainting them with what had been done, and that some members of their House were implicated; but that her majesty, from a tenderness for their privileges, forbore to take any further proceedings, until she had acquainted them therewith. This produced an address of thanks, with a request that the matter might be further investigated.* Notwithstanding the penetration of Harley, all his efforts to fix it upon the parties suspected, fell short of direct proof; so that here the matter ended.†

De Foe, as well from a regard for the liberty of the press, as from the extravagant nature of the performance, was averse to its prosecution. "In this," says he, "I crave leave to differ in my opinion from the government; and, with submission, humbly propose, that instead of suppressing 'The Memorial,' the government should order a hundred thousand of them to be printed, and sent into all the counties of England." And he suggests the following advertisement to it by way of introduction: "That this being a malicious, seditious book, published to bring the government into contempt, her majesty had ordered it to be published, that all her subjects might see the temper of the party, and the exceeding correspondence that there is between their principles of loyalty, formerly pretended to, and their present practice."‡ Although several editions were printed, the animadversions of the government rendered it scarce for a time. As such, it is noticed by Leslie, in his "Rehearsals;" and upon the same account, Mr. Coke thought fit to reprint it entire, in his "Detection," of this reign. The name of the author was afterwards brought to light, in an octavo edition of his work, "printed in the flourishing year of the

* Coke's Detection, iii. 275—281, 2. † Impartial View, &c., p. 47.
‡ Review, ii. 288.

church 1711;" and it proved to be Dr. James Drake, before mentioned.

This bulletin of church-politics, afforded a fine topic for the sarcasm of De Foe, who notices it in several of his *Reviews*. After citing a passage in which the party threatens rebellion, he says. "The first thing the 'Memorial' does, is to acknowledge the weakness of their loyalty, and that though the Church of England, as they call themselves, has talked pretty much of passive-obedience, yet all put together are not strong enough to struggle with nature; but whenever they are pressed, nature will rebel, and that the odds are on nature's side; that is, their principles are too weak to withstand the eruptions of nature, and their inclinations will easily overcome the pretended principle. Thus, all men are moral till temptation prevails: the drunkard is sober till the wine gets the better of his resolution; the nun is chaste till the friar tempts; and the high-churchman loyal till he loses his profits and trusts at court; and then nature gets the upper hand of principle, and no men are more apt to rebel. And now, gentlemen, you are come to confession. Because the government will not join with you in your *Short Ways with the Dissenters*, truly you are for Short Ways with the government; and if the ministers of state do not fall in with you, they must *consider of it in time*, lest you, resolving not to bear it much longer, should *secure yourselves at their peril*. Excellent loyalty this!" Upon the position, that he is a madman who will try how much they will bear: De Foe archly remarks, "This touches nobody so much as the late King James. But, that he is a madman who will believe one word they say, as to passive principles in the church, is a certainty too plain to admit any doubt."

In allusion to his former ill-treatment for exposing the principles which they now avowed in such plain language, he says, "What though I have been once ill-used for saying your earnest in my jest; for speaking directly what you meant obliquely? The 'Shortest Way' is a fool to the 'Memorial,'

as much as the author was made a fool to the party. What, if the meaning of one was abstruse, and the other plain? The meaning of authors ought no more to be always understood, than authors that have no meaning ought to be regarded. However, the author of the 'Shortest Way,' gives his humble praise to the author of the 'Memorial,' for convincing the world that all the first said of the high-church ironically, is declared by the last to be true literally; and therefore when that scandal to the long robe told a certain court, that the author would maliciously insinuate, that the Church of England was for ruining the Dissenters, and formed a crime out of it sufficient to move for an exorbitant anti-parliamentary punishment, he shewed that either he was fool enough not to be trusted with the plot, or knave enough to punish another for what he was earnestly concerned in bringing to pass. 'Tis therefore most demonstrably plain, that the reason why the author of the 'Shortest Way' was ill-used, was not because they did not like what he said, but because *he* said it."*

Besides a full consideration of the subject in his *Review*, De Foe embarked in the controversy in a separate pamphlet, published the 7th of July, and intitled, "The High Church Legion: or the Memorial examined. Being a new Test of Moderation; as, 'tis recommended to all that love the Church of England, and the Constitution. London: printed in the year 1705." 4to. pp. 21. In a dedication to the Lord-Treasurer Godolphin, he says, "The author of this is none of those numerous attendants which the envious party says wait at your levee, and pay homage to the profits they expect from your power." He intimates that he was then unknown to his lordship, shaded by his obscurity from the sunshine of favour, and in no expectation of reward. His defence of the premier, therefore, was gratuitous; but it could not have

* Review, ii. 266—270.

been long afterwards that he was introduced to him by Harley, and became an attendant at his levee.

In commenting upon Drake's work, he says, "Of all the pamphlets that have been published in England since the Restoration, none ever spoke such plain language as this. One would think it was writ by somebody that was in a plot against the high church; that it was an irony to expose them, like De Foe's 'Shortest Way with the Dissenters.' (H) The whole work is a virulent exclamation against the government; the style gross and unmannerly; filled with all that vehemence and gall that a party who in place were furious, and out of it revengeful, could be imagined to be filled with. The subject of this libel is the danger of the church; the foundation of it the author places in the turn of the court and change of the great officers. The instruments of this change are the present ministry, particularly the Lord Treasurer, the Duke of Marlborough and his duchess, the bishops, the Dissenters, the Whig-Lords, the low-church, and at last, the queen. These are loaded with infamous terms, presumptive insinuations, a long and black charge of corruption, and designs to overthrow the constitution. All the evils of our affairs abroad and at home, are laid at their door as enemies to their country, and destroyers of the church; and at last they are openly threatened with the church's resentment.' From personal calumnies, continues De Foe, "the book proceeds to a satire upon moderation, and contains abundance of false and unaccountable assertions; which indeed give the

(H) And so thought Leslie. In No. 98 of his "Rehearsal," he says, "You see what a trade these men have made of forging books upon the church, which they wrote themselves. And this 'Memorial' looks as like the Second Part of 'The Shortest Way,' as one egg is like another. It is wrote in the style of a high-churchman. Now if I could prove that he could be no high-churchman who wrote it, then it will be easy to guess at whose door to lay this foundling." Leslie was out in his conjecture; but he is an important evidence to shew that De Foe had not at all overstated the sentiments of his party.

book some disadvantage, as lies always do to any cause.' De Foe takes a review of the proceedings of the party from the commencement of the queen's reign; exposes their tendency; and lays open the causes that occasioned their defeat. "If men will be mad," says he, "they must not expect to be joined by those that remain in their wits."

The "Memorial" produced a number of answers besides that by De Foe; and it found an advocate in "The Case of the Church of England's Memorial fairly stated, or a modest Enquiry into the Grounds of those Prejudices that have been entertained against it. Lond. 1705." 4to. A great part of this pamphlet is levelled at De Foe, who is styled "the mob's favorite and solicitor-general." Amongst the books animadverted upon, are the *Review*, and the "High Church Legion;" and the author draws a comparison between the "Memorial," and the "Dyet of Poland;" the first of which is all mildness and truth, and the last a criminal libel upon "the best men in the kingdom." The author was William Pittis, who suffered the resentment he called for upon De Foe; and being convicted of writing "a false, scandalous and seditious libel, reflecting upon her majesty and her government," was sentenced to a fine and the pillory.

In the course of the controversy, Toland published, but without his name, "The Memorial of the State of England, in Vindication of the Queen, the Church and the Administration: designed to rectify the mutual Mistakes of Protestants, and to unite their Affections in Defence of our Religion and Liberty. London. 1705." 4to. pp. 104. The work was undertaken at the suggestion of Harley, one of the author's patrons, to whom he thus writes concerning its success: "It is no small satisfaction to me, that the judgment of the queen, the parliament, and the ministry, do so unanimously concur with the book, which, under your protection, I have published for their service; and which has

met with all the success and reputation that any author could wish, though he had declared his name, as I have been far from doing even to those I have obliged." * (1) It is a sensible and well-written pamphlet, very full upon the points in dispute, and calculated to dispel the illusions that gave a colourable pretence for party animosities. The author divides his work into four chapters, in which he treats of the Church, the Dissenters, the Toleration, and the Ministry; and under each head, he displays a comprehension of mind, and an accuracy of judgment, that qualified him to appreciate justly those important subjects. His sentiments upon toleration are such as have been embraced and pleaded for by the most enlightened writers; and being founded upon just views of human nature, are those only which can consist with a wise and liberal policy. Toland is now known chiefly as an adversary of revelation; but those who may choose to consult his political writings, will find in them many admirable sentiments, breathing a noble spirit of liberty, unfettered by the shackles that enslave the mind of a sordid politician. In the Somers's Collection of Tracts, Toland's work is strangely attributed to the Earl of Nottingham.

The spirit of party, which then so greatly predominated, did not allow this pamphlet to pass without observation. It was animadverted upon in "A Letter to the Author of the Memorial of the State of England. Lond. 1706." The writer was said to be Thomas Rawlins, Esq. an intimate friend of Toland's; and the chief point of difference

* Toland's Works, ii. 354.

(1) Mr. Shower, the Dissenting minister, to whom the author presented a copy, acknowledges the receipt of it in these terms: "The Memorial of the State of England, appears to me to be the most judicious and seasonable of any thing lately printed. 'Tis the real state of our case, set in a true light, with excellent judgment and eloquence; very likely to open the eyes, and calm the minds of many."—*Toland's Work*, ii. 356.

between them, respected the merits of some persons in the administration. Some of these, particularly the Duke of Marlborough (K) and Mr. Harley, are handled with severity, which gave so much offence, that a prosecution was immediately commenced against the author. Upon an investigation of the matter, it could be traced no further than to the Rev. William Stephens, Rector of Sutton in Surry, who, refusing to give evidence against Rawlins, was supposed to be the real author. Being brought to trial the 6th of May, 1706, before Mr. Justice Powel, he was convicted of writing the pamphlet, and sentenced to a fine and the pillory. The latter part of his sentence was first suspended, and then remitted, out of respect to his order; but with this mortifying circumstance: that Mr. Stephens was brought to a public house at Charing-Cross, from whence he saw the fatal scaffold, and multitudes of people gathered together to be the spectators of his humiliation.*

The pamphlet of Stephens, who was far from being a high-churchman, but had a quarrel against some of the ministers, was replied to before his apprehension, in "A Letter to the Author of the Memorial of the State of England, answered paragraph by paragraph. Lond. 1706." 8vo.; and afterwards, in "Remarks on the Letter to the Author of the State Memorial. 1706." 8vo. Toland, also, under the direction of Harley, undertook a reply; but for some particular reasons it was suppressed, after six or seven sheets were printed. The title he gave to it was "A De-

* Boyer's Reign of Queen Anne, p. 286.

(K) De Foe having entered upon the vindication of Marlborough, in his *Review*, the Duchess communicated it to the Duke, then abroad, who thus writes to her: "I do not know who the author of the *Review* is, but I do not love to see my name in print; for I am persuaded that an honest man must be justified by his own actions, and not by the pen of a writer, though he should be a zealous friend."—*Cox's Life of Marlborough*, ii. 284. 8vo. ed.

fence of her Majesty's Administration: particularly against the notorious Forgeries and Calumnies with which his Grace the Duke of Marlborough, and the Right Honorable Mr. Secretary Harley, are scandalously defamed and aspersed, in a late scurrilous invective, intitled, 'A Letter to the Author of the Memorial of the State of England.'" * This being a fruitful controversy, it produced many other pamphlets; but they are too numerous to particularize.

* Toland's Life before his Works.

CHAPTER XVIII.

De Foe is threatened with Violence.—His own Account of his Treatment.—And Contempt for the High-Flyers.—False Reports raised against him.—His Challenge to his Enemies.—And Perseverance in the Cause he had embarked in.—He satirizes the Enemies of Moderation.—Offers a Cessation of Hostilities.—He makes a Progress in the West of England.—The Obstructions he met with.—Sham Informations laid against him.—His own Account of his Journey.—Public Thanksgiving.—De Foe's Commendation of Dean Willis's Sermon.—Review of the Case of Ephraim and Judah.—De Foe announces a Satire upon the High-Churchmen.—His Address to the Members of the new Parliament.—Anecdote of Lord Holland.—He denounces the Plots of the High-Flyers.—And describes the Engines they work with.—His own Disinterestedness.—Opening of the new Parliament.—De Foe's Commendation of the Queen's Speech.—Debate upon the State of the Nation.—Lord Haversham's Speech for inviting over the Presumptive Heir.—Answered by De Foe.—Lord Haversham's Vindication of his Speech.—De Foe publishes a Reply.—His noble Vindication of Himself.—Debate upon the Danger of the Church.—Remarks upon the Subject.—True Relation of the Apparition of Mrs. Veal.—Sir Walter Scott's Remarks upon it.—The Second Volume of the Review—Opens with a "Hymn to Truth."—Subjects Discussed in it.—Reproof of Lying.—De Foe's Contests with the News-writers.

1705.

THE length to which political parties now carried their animosities, was strikingly exemplified in the personal treatment of our author. For the freedom with which he spoke his mind against the temper and conduct of the high-flyers, he was not only subjected to their scandal and abuse, but even threatened with violence. Writing in July this year, he says, "'Twould reflect upon the nation in general, should

I give the particulars of about twenty or thirty letters, most of which threaten my life; so that they would think England coming into the mode of Italy." To these angry persons he says, "Let them step to Maidstone jail, and there discourse a little with their brother-murtherers; and if their condition pleases them, let them follow their steps if they can. Indeed, gentlemen, the mean, despicable author of this paper, is not worth your attempting his correction at the price. Gaols, fetters, and gibbets, are odd, melancholy things. For a gentleman to dangle out of the world in a string has something so ugly, so awkward, and so disagreeable, that you cannot think of it without regret; and then the reflection will be very harsh, that this was for killing a poor mortified author, one that the government had killed before. It can never be worth your while; and, therefore, he hopes you will let him alone to time and age, which are hastening upon us all, and will certainly at last do the work to your hand."

But little regardful of these threats, he says, "I move about the world unguarded and unarmed; a little stick, not strong enough to correct a dog, supplies the place of Mr. O——r's great oaken-towel; a sword sometimes, perhaps, for decency, but it is all harmless, to a mere nothing, and can do no hurt any where but just at the tip of it, called the point: and what's that in the hand of a feeble author? Let him alone, gentlemen, and have patience: you'll all come to be of his mind ere long; and then if you had killed him, you will be sorry for it." *

Besides threats of personal violence, his enemies resorted to other methods of ill-usage. Crowds of sham actions and arrests poured in upon him; debts in trade, of seventeen years' standing, and compounded for, were revived; writs were taken out without the knowledge of the creditor, and

* Review, ii. 213, 14.

sometimes after he had been paid; assignments of debts were eagerly sought for and purchased; and collateral bonds sued where the securities had been resigned. "It would take up too much of the reader's time," says he, "to trouble the world with the barbarous treatment of a man just stripped naked by the government; should I descend to particulars, they would be too moving to be read." In the number of reports raised to injure him, it was given out that he had been taken to Newgate; and he tells us, that some persons were so kind as to go there to visit him. "Common compassion," says he, "would lead most men to pity those who have been ruined by any public disaster;" but this lot must be expected by all who "venture in plainness, and without flattery, to tell men their crimes;" and, as he was determined not to restrain his pen from writing the truth, he had confidence, "that the Author of Truth will, one time or other, own the work, if not the unhappy author."*

In another place, he says, "I am not going to move the compassion of any body, by telling the ungrateful particulars how the unhappy author is treated; how his life is threatened by bullying letters; his creditors roused to a general prosecution of him for debts, though under former treaties and agreements; as if he was more able to discharge them now, reduced by a known disaster, and ruined by a public storm, than before, when in prosperous circumstances, he was gradually clearing himself of every body, and all waited with patience, being themselves satisfied; how his morals were assaulted by impotent and groundless slanders; his principles cried down by envious friends, as well as malicious enemies. His endeavours for the public advantage thus prove none to himself; his family and fortunes sink under his constant attempts for his country's welfare; and all this for inviting you to peace, for telling you what sort of people

* Review, ii. 215.

obstruct it, and for answering the impudent attempts of the nation's enemies to break and divide us." *

Dismissing the terrors of a jail, and the threats of assassination, from the first of which he looked to the law for protection, and was willing to venture the last, he proceeds to inform us, that his enemies opened upon him the more harmless battery of banter and ridicule. Annoyed by his perseverance, and stung by his satire, they were desirous that he should lay down his paper, and it was for that purpose they resorted to so many engines of persecution; but they failed in their object. Undeterred by their threats, and neglecting their contempt, he defies their malice, and laughs at its impotency. Secure in the strength of his cause, he armed himself at all points for their attacks, and showed an undaunted resolution to meet them. In his arguments for peace and charity, for a respectable demeanour to superiors, for the toleration of religious opinions, and for the civil rights of mankind generally, he had greatly the advantage of his opponents. If he was inferior to some of them in learning, he was superior in the more useful branches of knowledge, having a competent acquaintance with the history and opinions of mankind, and the talent of applying it to practical purposes. Having the full command of his temper, he triumphs over the loss of it in his adversaries, and employs his sarcastic powers against them with irresistible effect. In pleading the cause of moderation, he says, "Without doubt, they that believe civil dissention, strife, and oppression, to be needful for this nation's happiness, differ from me, and I from them; and I doubt we shall always do so. Now, if these gentlemen will prove that laws for the persecution of Dissenters, that feuds and breaches in the legislature, that heats and animosities of parties, are particularly for the public service, I confess, all my notions of things

* Review, ii. 377, 378.

are wrong; for indeed I did not know that when our Lord said, '*a kingdom divided against itself, cannot stand,*' that the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, were excepted out of the general rule, with a *cujus contrarium verum est.*"*

In his *Review* for July 12, De Foe says, "I have been told that 'tis no wonder all the threatenings, sham actions, and malicious prosecutions I speak of, are practised upon me, since I am pushing at a party in daily lampoons, ballads, and clandestine scandals; and that I must expect no other till I lay down this paper, and all other scribbles of such a nature; and if I am really for peace, I should show all the hackney authors of the town that I am so, by laying down the weapons first, to show them a good example. I have frequently answered this, as to all the papers cried about in my name, assuring the world they have none of them been wrote by me. The suggested scandals of these things increase the crime of them; and I have been wholly unconcerned at the injury of it, not dreaming my worst enemies could so far injure their judgments, as to father on me the crowds of doggrel mischief the world abounds with.

"As to laying down the pen, or discontinuing the subject I am upon, though I claim a privilege to be judge when I think I ought to go backward or forward, yet to answer the proposal as to a cessation of pen and ink debates, I shall make them a fair offer, which he that gives himself the trouble to move me in it, may make use of to the other party. Whenever he will demonstrate they are inclined to peace; whenever the high-church party will cease tacking of bills, invading the toleration, raising ecclesiastical alarms against the Dissenters and low-church; will cease preaching up division, persecution, and ruin of their Protestant brethren; when all the crowd of high-church advocates, *Rehearsers, Observers, Reflectors, Whippers,* and *Drivers,* will declare a

* Review, ii. 215.

truce;—when these conditions may be observed, I fairly promise to be so far contributor to the public peace, as to lay this down, and turn the paper to the innocent discourses of trade, and the matters of history, first proposed. Indeed, I must do so of course; for the peace will be then made, the end answered, and consequently the argument useless."*

During the summer, De Foe took a journey into the west of England, but whether upon any public service, or for his private business, does not appear. All that he tells us is, "That he was upon a journey about his lawful occasions, accompanied by a friend, and his friend's servant, and that he met with several unmanly and unreasonable insults upon the road." The high-church party no sooner got scent of his presence, than they devised means to get rid of him. Whilst at Weymouth, his letters being delivered to a wrong person, were shown about the town; and a friend having written in one of them, "as a piece of news, and too true, that a certain person had the impudence to say, that the queen had broken her coronation-oath, and the like," the wise mayor of the town, imagining there was treason in the business, examined such persons as had conversed with our author, and had them conveyed to the assizes at Dorchester: but the judge soon dismissed them. Notwithstanding this rebuff, the mayor thought fit to send an account of the matter to one of the secretaries of state, who made no return to his officiousness.

The story being transmitted to Exeter, was sufficiently magnified in that Tory city, where some malicious persons misleading the judge, occasioned him to remark in his charge to the jury, that many seditious persons were come to stir up the country, and disturb the peace; with directions to apprehend them. The enemies of De Foe immediately spread a

* Review, ii. 221, 2.

report that the judge had particularized him by name, and issued an order for his apprehension. Being then at Bideford, and hearing the news, he resolved to present himself before the mayor of the town; but he being absent, he applied to the next principal magistrate, offering himself to justice, if any man had any matter of accusation, that he might meet it to his face. Being dismissed, as reason required, he proceeded to Tiverton, where he learnt that a warrant had been issued against him by a justice of the name of Stafford, who lived near Crediton, and ordered that he might be brought before him. As the warrant did not state any information upon oath, De Foe contented himself with sending him a letter, acquainting him where he was, which way he was going, and the names of the towns where he intended to stay. But no further notice was taken of him.

In allusion to this "Much ado about Nothing," (1) he says, "He cannot but laugh at the wisdom and courage of a country justice, who, having carefully issued out his warrant for the author, after he could not but know he was gone, and searched every house but that where he lodged, shewed his folly and his temper both at a time. Had these wise gentlemen designed really to have *come to hand*, as they call it, with the author, nothing was more easy. A small difficulty would make it out, that they knew which road he was gone, and to what towns; but, like the famed hero that always looked for his enemy where he knew he could not be found, they sent their warrants just the contrary way, having more desire that it should be said they granted a warrant, than that they had executed it." The information was upon the charge of dispersing libels; but so innocent was he of this, that he offered to go down from London on purpose, if the

(1) There was printed at this time a half sheet, intitled "A Great Noise about Nothing; to which a rejoinder was made in some doggrel lines, called "An Answer to the Great Noise about Nothing: or, A Noise about Something. 1705;" also, a half sheet, 4to.

justice would undertake to commit him upon his warrant. Nothing arms a man so securely against the shafts of malice, as conscious innocence; and De Foe found it to be his safeguard in the day of trial. He says, "he had learnt long since to contemn the *curse causeless*, and to slight the malice of men who fly in the face of truth, and hate the author merely because he moves them to that peace which is their only happiness."*

The result of his observations during his progress in the west, De Foe shall record in his own words: "I have been a long journey into the country, chiefly, indeed, to be out of the reach of implacable and unreasonable men; which may serve for an answer to an impertinent vilifier, who, in print, had the impudence to demand what business I had in Devonshire? In all my perambulation, my constant endeavour, my whole discourse has been, like my writing, nothing but peace; entreating and persuading all men, of what persuasion and what opinion soever, to lay aside their party prejudices, to bury former animosities, to remember they are all Protestants, all Englishmen, embarked in the same vessel, environed and attacked by the same enemies, that have the same religious and civil interests to pursue, the same God, and the same government, and whose ruin, if ever it comes, will be brought about by the same methods. I frankly appeal for the truth of this, to all the towns and counties I have gone through, in near 1100 miles riding. I have made no private gain, raised no contributions, as another author has been very busy about, dispersed no libels, poisoned nobody's principles with any thing but the infection of peace. I have, indeed, carried the 'Memorial' with me, and on all occasions have shown it as a thing which carries its own evidence along with it; requiring nothing to move the people of England to a suitable abhorrence of it, but to have it seen. And I cannot but add

* Review, ii. 301–4.

one thing here, that in the circle I have made in this nation, I have observed that blessed article of peace and union much farther advanced; the people of all sorts, as well churchmen as dissenters, living in more neighbourhood and society, their clergy going on hand in hand in the heavenly work of doing good to souls, and conversing with each other more like Christians and men.

Among many useful observations which I think I have brought with me from the country, these are some: that the dispersing of pamphlets, wrangling papers, *News-letters, Rehearsals*, &c., with scandalous reflections, so far as they excite discontents at the government, are exceedingly pernicious to the public good. That the diligence of those unhappy people, who industriously hand about these papers, is very extraordinary, and the contributions they raise for such as are their champions in print, to encourage them to oppose the nation's peace, and insult the government, are also very great; so that it is no wonder they are served at all hazards. While they that will venture to arm the people with arguments to defend themselves against these *turners of the world upside down*, do it at their own hazard and expence, to the ruin of their families, and the exposure of their persons to all manner of indignities and reproaches. I have observed a very remarkable difference, wherever I have been, between the persons who are for peace and moderation, and those who are against it. In all places, 'tis easy to be seen, that, generally speaking, the men of manners, the men of piety, and the men that have most to lose, are the men of peace; and these receive the author with decency and respect. On the other hand, the dissolute, the dull, the idle, the conceited, the dogmatic, and the bigot, added, unhappily to a too strong party of the inferior clergy, and of the gentry led away by the said clergy, are the firebrands of this nation, the enemies to its peace, and the destroyers of the church. When the *Review* appears amongst these, 'tis cursed without bell, book,

and candle; many times it is thrown into the fire, instead of its author, who, in the mean time, has such a character given of him, and so suited to the temper of the givers, that truly, when I showed myself in some places, and the people knew who it was, they began to look for the cloven foot, the head and the horns, and all the demonstrations of devilism, which our common people have learned from the painters, old women, and the like: and I have had the honour, with small difficulty, of convincing some gentlemen, over a bottle of wine, that the author of the *Review* was really no monster, but a conversable, sociable creature.

"I further observed, that in those towns in England, where the strife of parties is abated, and the people converse together without heat or prejudice; where the moderation and temper of the government have influenced the people; and where their eyes are open to the general good of the kingdom, their trade flourishes, commerce revives, and the people begin to live happily. If, by the casualties of war, their manufactures are obstructed, and they are pinched in their trade, they bear it with the more cheerfulness, and there are always the fewer clamours; they help and encourage one another, and live like Christians and like men. And why we might not live so every where, I see no reason to be given, but what the gentlemen of the high-church ought to blush for, and what, without arrogance, I may safely say, they themselves are the occasion of." *

The queen having appointed the 23d of August as a day of public thanksgiving for the victories of Marlborough, she went in procession to St. Paul's, where a sermon was delivered by Dr. Willis, Dean of Lincoln, from Isa. xi. 13; "*Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim.*" It was upon the whole, a pacific discourse, and,

* Review, ii. 378—380.

being afterwards printed, furnished matter for the censure of some, as it did for the praise of others. By the high-churchmen, the "sermon was openly ridiculed, the Dean condemned for a betrayer of his order, and an unhappy turn of affairs presaged, from his daring to preach upon unity before so great an assembly."* De Foe highly commends the sermon in his *Review*, observing, "I know nothing I can do better to move us all to concur in the general peace of neighbours, and charity of Christians, than to recommend the reading and serious consideration of that excellent sermon, by Dr. Willis, preached with that zeal, and composed with that care, sincerity of affection, and honest design for the general good, that I cannot but press all my readers to the practice of its particulars. Besides the particular qualification of being a word spoken in season, it touches our real disease; and if we are not hardened beyond the common rate, must move us to consider why we, who might otherwise be the happiest nation in the world, are the most divided, distracted, and uncharitable of all our neighbours; among whom, nothing is to be seen but 'Judah vexing Ephraim, and Ephraim envying Judah,' and of whom it may be justly prophecied, that if we thus go on to bite and devour one another, we shall at last be devoured one of another. To men of any honesty, sincerity, or concern for their native country, the moving eloquence of this sermon must be effectual. As for people who are given up, to them 'tis in vain to preach; all sermons being alike useless. They must be let alone, till, being filled with their own devices, they become the authors of their own punishment; for of such it may be safely said, their destruction is their own, and the nation has nothing to fear from their power."†(M)

* Impartial View, &c., p. 29. † Review, ii. 347, 8.

(M) Dr. Willis's sermon gave rise to a pamphlet, intitled, "A Review of the Case of Judah and Ephraim, and its Application to the Church of

In the *Review* for October 30, 1705, De Foe inserted the following advertisement, which was probably no more than a *jeu d'esprit* to alarm the intolerants with a formidable exposure of their practices:—"Preparing for the press, and to be publishedin a few days, the first volume of twenty-six centuries of High-flying Churchmen in England, who have sworn allegiance to the Government, and get their bread under the protection of it; basely and villanously betray the nation and the Church, by openly and maliciously aiding, siding with, and abetting the Popish and Non-juring party in England; abusing the Queen, the Bishops, and the best Churchmen in the kingdom; fomenting Divisions amongst Protestants, and diligently widening the unhappy breaches of the Nation. To which are added, Large Collections of their Wise Sayings, and common Maxims, in favour of Popery, and an Abhorrence of Moderation: together with the Characters and Abridgments of their respective Histories; and a large Examination of Two new high-church Maxims: 1. I had rather be a Papist than a Presbyterian. 2. I had rather go to Hell than to a Meeting-house; both learnedly asserted by two vigorous Defenders of high-church principles; one a man of the Gown, and the other of the Sword." De Foe had already gone over the

England and the Dissenters. With an Essay on the Original of our Religious Animosities, and the proper means to compose them. In a Letter to the Rev. Dr. Willis, Dean of Lincoln, occasioned by his Thanksgiving Sermon on the 23d of August, 1705, before her Majesty, at St. Paul's. Lond. 1705." 4to. The author of this admirable pamphlet was John Hughes, the poet, whose biographers have overlooked it, although it is sufficiently ascertained by his letters. His design is to point out some particulars in which the preacher's object is liable to be mistaken, and perverted to the service of intolerance. This is more particularly the case, in his parallel between Judah and Ephraim, which he thinks open to exception; and he states his reasons with great temper and judgment. He has some excellent remarks upon the rise of those principles of exclusion which have led to so much injustice and bloodshed in the name of religion, and applies them with great force to our own country.

whole ground in his *Review*, and advises the high gentlemen to furnish themselves with a good stock of patience, to prepare them against future disappointments, that they may not fly to any fatal and unnatural excesses, such as hanging themselves.

Preparatory to the meeting of parliament, De Foe seized the occasion offered by a new election, of addressing its members upon the responsibility of their station; and he devotes several numbers of his *Review*, to that object. After a brief recognition of the dignity and authority of parliament, and an exposition of its duties, he exhorts the members to a *constant* and *early* attendance in their places, and passes a censure upon those whose pleasures detain them in the country, and who scarcely ever shew their faces in the House. The ill consequences of this neglect he has strikingly illustrated, in the case of the unfortunate Lord Holland, beheaded in the time of the civil wars, and whose fate was decided by the casting vote of the Speaker. "I have been told," says he, "by one still living, who remembers the story very well, that my Lord Holland had a particular friend, a member of that House, who, on some very small business, omitted being there, and by that omission that noble gentleman lost his life; the grief of which afterwards so afflicted his friend, who had been the occasion of it, that he lived but a very little time after him, and mourned for him to his last hour." From this melancholy story, De Foe infers the extreme importance of parliamentary debates, the indispensable duty of a regular attendance, and the dark reflections that sometimes follow upon the omission. He tells the newly elected members, that they are supposed to be chosen for the great esteem which the people have for their judgment and fidelity; and that they will be expected to exemplify those qualities, by studying the true interests of their country.

Addressing the parliament upon the first day of its sitting, he reminds the members of the important circumstances under which they meet; a juncture remarkable for intestine divisions and treasonable practices; and he brings before them a series of plots carried on by the high party, for the purpose of destroying the religion and liberties of the country. The tools they work with he describes to be, the pulpit, the tongue, and the press; and his account of the various modes in which they were employed, presents us with a curious picture of the times. The first, he terms an ecclesiastical engine, converted by its engineers into a political vessel adapted to the more modern, but less christian, employment, of railing and buffoonery. If it were not too serious a subject, he says, he could be very merry with the ridiculous banters that issued to the world from this stage of mimics, where the heralds of war were filling the minds of men with wrath, strife, envy, and every unchristian principle. Instead of building up the church, he tells us, of his own knowledge, that by these means they filled the meeting-houses, and increased the number of Dissenters. "Nor are these railings and bitter expressions," says he, "vented against the Dissenters only, but against all those ministers of the Church of England, who have more charity, temper, and manners than themselves, the bishops not escaping their virulence; and thus they labour diligently to overthrow the church they pretend to uphold."

The same design, he tells us, was pursued in common conversation, by which the minds of ignorant men were filled with impressions of disloyalty and disaffection; and jealousies were industriously fomented amongst the people. "Our ploughmen now talk of mismanagement at court, and our mobs sing ballads and lampoons against the government; and by both, the taxes, the war, the ministers, are called grievances. To argue with such people," says he "is to talk gospel to a kettle-drum," every thing else being

drowned in the intolerable cry of the danger of the church. How they reconcile this conduct with their duty as faithful subjects, and lovers of their country, is a question which wise men would be glad to see answered; but, "if raving in the pulpit, and raging out of it, be loyalty, most of the inferior clergy are the loyalest men in the nation."

The exuberance of the press, which poured forth torrents of gall and bitterness, affords another topic of complaint:— "Not," observes De Foe, "that the cause of peace and moderation have the worst end of the argument, but the parties are not upon equal terms; the one being satisfied with calm reasoning, whilst the other resorts to impudence and falsehood. The nation groans under the load of this voluminous impertinence. Every hour some new comet appears in the horizon of letters, born of no visible parent, bidding defiance to reason, law, and policy, and generally recommended by an extravagant dress, to scare the ignorant, and amuse the world." In noticing the abuses of the press, he says, "Books are printed by nobody, and wrote by everybody. One man prints another man's works, and calls them his own; another man prints his own, and calls them by the name of another. Continual robberies, piracies, and invasions of property, occur in the occupation. One man shall study seven years to bring a finished piece into the world, and as soon as produced, it shall be re-published by some piratical printer, at a quarter of the price, and sold for his own benefit. These things call loudly for an act of parliament." De Foe proposed, that every author should be obliged to set his name to his works.*

In devising means for the general welfare, De Foe lost sight of his own interest, and generously offered to make a sacrifice of his paper, if necessary, for the promotion of that peace for which he had been so earnestly contending. "By

* Review, ii. 381—424.

this it shall appear," says he, "the author is not the mercenary they pretend, and is far from writing for gain. Indeed, if any man were to have a true account of the gain made by it, in proportion to the pains taken, he would soon clear him of such a base suggestion. Be that as it will: if the gain be great, he willingly sacrifices it to the public peace. 'Tis by some other method he must restore the ruins of his fortune, shipwrecked by an unjust and exorbitant process. No man can be so weak as to think he depends upon this trifle; and therefore, be his circumstances never so mean, he contemns the prospect of mending them by this paper. And were that prospect two-fold beyond what it really is, with more pleasure than ever he took in writing, will he resign it to the public peace."*

The substance of the foregoing address to the parliament, was embodied in a pamphlet, and published at the end of October, with the title of "A Declaration without Doors. By the Author of, &c. Sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster, 1705." 4to. It was immediately replied to in "An Answer to the scurrilous and reflecting pamphlet, intitled 'The Declaration without Doors.' Lond. 1705."

The new parliament assembled October 25, and was opened by a pacific speech from the queen, recommending her subjects to lay aside their contentions, and cultivate an union of affection; at the same time, she expressed her indignation at those persons who were fomenting divisions, and insinuated her alienation from the church, which she was resolved to support without infringing the toleration. The addresses of the two Houses harmonized upon the occasion, and re-echoed the sentiments of the speech.

De Foe, who was still in the country, received these opening declarations with great satisfaction. "How has the royal prudence," says he, "discovered the dark lanthorn, and

* Review, ii. 428.

removed the gunpowder placed under the very foundation of the church. We have it under the hands and seals of high-church authors, that they would have given up the church to French popery, and have surrendered the nation and the Protestant religion to an abdicated Popish race, from whom it has now cost fourteen years war, and near a hundred millions sterling to deliver us. These are the men that are labouring to reconcile us to French popery, that we might the easier be reconciled to French tyranny; and all to gratify the superior vice of their souls—revenge, that they might set their feet upon the necks of their brethren. Unthinking wretches, that have not souls to reflect how they looked once, when Popery began to ride upon their backs; and would look more foolish still, when their *Jure Divino* doctrine should stare them in the face, as was formerly the case with their passive obedience."* Upon the prospect of affairs in the Commons, he concludes, "These people may sit down and reproach themselves, if they please, with their own folly, and reflect on that verse of a foreign poet,

"If knaves were never fools they'd soon blow up the state."

Upon the 15th of November, a debate took place in the Lords, in consequence of a motion by Lord Haversham, relative to the state of the nation. Ever since the change in the ministry, that peer, who had been all his life a Whig and a Dissenter, had linked himself with the Tories, and now made a speech of some length, in which he arraigned the management of the war, and the conduct of our allies, particularly the Dutch; and he concluded by moving an address to the queen, for inviting over the presumptive heir to the crown. Although the Tories had formerly opposed such a measure as particularly offensive to the queen, they now supported it

* Review, ii. p. 430.

with great zeal, and the Whigs with the same inconsistency resisted it; both parties regulating their conduct by the barometer of their interest at court. It is therefore fair to conclude, that factious motives were at the bottom of the proposal, which, had it been carried into effect, would have increased the broils of the nation by the existence of rival courts. The motion was lost by a great majority; but it gave birth to the Regency Bill, which contained further provisions for the security of the Protestant succession.

Lord Haversham having printed his speech, De Foe made some remarks upon it in his *Review* for the 24th of November; and they were afterwards reprinted upon a half sheet, as "An Answer to the Lord Haversham's speech. Lond. 1705." In scrutinizing the speech of a peer of parliament, our author knew that he was treading upon tender ground; he therefore says, "I am not going to answer my Lord Haversham's speech; but if I may say any thing to certain points hinted at in the paper called by that title, they are welcome to call mine an answer, or what else they please. That the Lord Haversham made a speech in the House of Lords is no part of my inquiry, nor shall I meddle with what was transacted there; I know the duty of an author with respect to what is said or done in that assembly. The paper published, I think, shows itself in a double capacity; as a speech, and as a pamphlet. As a speech I have nothing to say to it; but as a pamphlet with no author's name to it, it may be any body's, and may be answered by any body. 'Tis an appeal to the people, a challenge to every reader; and I am at liberty, as well as another, to remark upon it. The anonymous author is nothing to me, be he a lord or a tinker."

After this exordium, De Foe proceeds to examine the last topic of the speech, relative to the invitation of the next heir, which he considers to be wholly unnecessary. In some subsequent *Reviews*, he inquires into the design of the project, which he says was no other than to open the

mouths of the party against the government, for the employment of foreigners, as was the case in the late reign. He shews the inconsistency of mooting such a question, which could proceed only from a desire to embarrass the government, and put a slight upon the house of Hanover, as they knew it would be rejected. For a counteraction of the insult, De Foe relied upon the discernment of that illustrious family, the members of which were all well informed upon the state of parties, and the motives by which they were actuated.

The free remarks of our author, extorted "The Lord Haversham's Vindication of his Speech in Parliament, November 15, 1705. London: printed by Dr. Leach, for W. H., and sold by B. Bragg, in Ave-Mary Lane, 1705." 4to. pp. 8. The author, who seems to value himself upon his peerage, and would have thought it beneath him to enter the lists "with such a mean and mercenary prostitute as the author of the *Review*," was not above the use of scurrilous language, with which he plentifully seasons his pamphlet. He considers De Foe as fighting the battles of the ministers, from whom he received "both his encouragement and instructions." Upon this account he thought it necessary to enter upon his defence in print, rather than take those advantages which the "rashness and impudence" of his opponent had given him.

Undeterred by his threats, and unconvinced by his speeches, which are characterised by their emptiness and vapouring, De Foe soon convinced him that he was not to be scared by the authority of his name, nor silenced by the weight of his reasoning. He therefore produced, not long afterwards, "A Reply to a Pamphlet, intitled, 'The Lord Haversham's Vindication of his Speech,' &c. By the Author of the *Review*. London: printed in the year 1706." 4to. pp. 32.

"I know very well," says he, "it was expected, and perhaps by his lordship, that I should have been questioned for the

freedom I took with that paper, and summoned to answer for it at the bar of the House of Lords, but as that honourable House understood better, so I am not ashamed to say, I understood better than to apprehend it." De Foe tells him, "He shall neither forget his lordship's dignity, *nor who gave it him;* and if he is forced to any plainness, it will be none but what truth may extort. In order to this, he passes over at once all the ill language the vindicator is pleased to bestow upon him, as things which, however, in his wisdom he may not think below him to stoop to, the author thinks it below his breeding to return, and cannot think they illustrate the vindicator's arguments enough to encourage him to follow the example; having, moreover, so much more truth and reason of his side, as to stand in no need of railing to help them out."

In reply to the vindicator's assertions, "that the author of these pages is not the only person concerned in them, and that he is convinced, upon inquiry, from whence he has both his encouragement and instructions," De Foe says, "I humbly ask his pardon for saying, to his misfortune and mine, not one word of these articles happens to have the least shadow of truth in them. That no man in England has, or ever had, any concern in writing the paper called the *Review*, other than the author known and reputed to be so, I take the liberty to assure him is a positive and direct truth, and that not any part of it has been ever dictated, or suggested, or any other way, directly or indirectly, so much as hinted to him by any person whatsoever. The next thing advanced by the vindicator is, that he is convinced, upon inquiry, from whence I have both my encouragement and instructions. I confess I could be very well pleased if some of this were true, and that I had either encouragement or instructions from any body in my resolute pursuit of truth and peace; but, to my misfortune, this is wrong too. Upon what inquiry the vindicator may be convinced, I confess I

cannot determine. I know light information will satisfy some people of what they would have true; but I must beg his pardon to say, that certainly his informer must be an impostor, and I should esteem it a piece of justice that I should always acknowledge, if his lordship, or his vindicator, would vouchsafe to confront that evidence, either with me or any other person, by or from whom this encouragement and these instructions have been received, and when, or in what manner, given; for certainly, when both were brought to the light, he would be convinced he was imposed upon, and resent it accordingly."

In the following passage, he touches with tenderness upon his past misfortunes:—"If I were to run through the black list of the encouragements I have met with in the world, while I have embarked myself in the raging sea of the nation's troubles, this vindicator would be ashamed to call them encouragements. How, in pursuit of peace, I have brought myself into innumerable broils; how many, exasperated by the sting of truth, have vowed my destruction, and how many ways attempted it; how I stand alone in the world, abandoned by those very people that own I have done them service; how I am sold and betrayed by friends, abused and cheated by barbarous and unnatural relations, sued for other men's debts, and stripped naked by public injustice, of what should have enabled me to pay my own; how, with a numerous family, and no helps but my own industry, I have forced my way with undiscouraged diligence, through a sea of debt and misfortune, and reduced them, exclusive of composition, from seventeen to less than five thousand pounds; how, in gaols, in retreats, in all manner of extremities, I have supported myself without the assistance of friends or relations; how I still live without this vindicator's suggested methods, and am so far from making my fortune by this way of *scribbling*, that no man more desires a limitation and regulation of the press than myself;

especially that speeches in parliament might not be printed without order of parliament, and poor authors betrayed to engage with men too powerful for them, in more forcible arguments than those of reason. If I should still acquaint him, that whatever he suggests, I shall never starve, though this way of encouragement were removed; and that, were the trade with Spain open, I shall convince the world of it, by settling myself abroad, where I shall receive better treatment, from both friend and enemy, than I have here. These melancholy truths, tho' I confess myself full of them, I omit troubling the world with, only to assure this vindicator, that the encouragement suggested to be received for the writing against a printed paper, called a Speech, are mere fictions of some persons who court some men's favour at the expence of their honesty, and deserve their resentment for imposing upon them."

To the charges of "mean, mercenary, and prostitute," De Foe replies with becoming spirit:—"To the first: Meaner, my Lord, in my own eyes than in any man's, and willing to be as mean as man can make me for the service of my native country, and the defence of truth, peace, and the liberty of England. But without entering into the determination of what is, or is not, to be understood by honour, I ask his lordship's pardon on this occasion, only to value myself, without pride or affectation, in a manner I never did before. I had the honour to be trusted, esteemed, and, much more than I deserved, valued by the best king England ever saw; and yet whose judgment I cannot undervalue, because he gave his lordship his honour and his dignity, which was, some time before, as mean as mine. But fate, that makes foot-balls of men, kicks some men up stairs, and some down; some are advanced without honour, others suppressed without infamy; some are raised without merit, some are crushed without crime; and no man knows, by the beginning of things, whether his course shall issue in a peerage, or

a pillory: and time was, that no man could have determined it between his lordship and this mean fellow, except those who knew his lordship's merit more particularly than outsides could have directed. In the grave, we shall come to a second and more exact equality; and what difference follows next, will be formed on no foot of advantage from dignity or character here; so that this mean fellow has less disparity to struggle with, than the usage of him seems to allow. But to return to the days of King William, and to matters of honour. If I should say I had the honour to know some things from his majesty, and to transact some things for his majesty, that he would not have trusted his lordship with, perhaps there may be more truth than modesty in it; and if I should say, also, these honours done me, helped to make me that mean thing some people since think fit to represent me, perhaps it should be very true also."

"Thus much for meanness, the charge of which, I thank heaven, is no crime. A man ought not to be afraid at any time to be mean to be honest. Pardon me, therefore, with some warmth, to say, that neither the vindicator, nor all his informers, can, with their utmost inquiry, make it appear that I am, or ever was, *mercenary*. And as there is a justice due from all men, of what dignity or quality soever, the wrong done me in this can be vindicated by nothing but proving the fact, which I am a most humble petitioner that he would be pleased to do, or else give me leave to speak of it in such terms as so great an injury demands. No, my lord, pardon my freedom, I contemn and abhor every thing, and every man that can be taxed with that name, let his dignity be what it will. I was ever true to one principle; I never betrayed my master nor my friend; I always espoused the cause of truth and liberty, was ever on one side, and that side was ever right. I have lived to be ruined for it; and I have lived to see it triumph over tyranny, party-rage, and persecution principles, *and am sorry to see any man abandon it.*

I thank God, this world cannot bid a price sufficient to bribe me. 'Tis the principle I ever lived by, and shall espouse whilst I live, that a man ought to die rather than betray his friend, his cause, or his master. I own I am at a loss to know, or indeed to guess what should move this author, while at the same time he is pleased to blame my language, to fall into this meanness himself, and attack me with a missive weapon, which will fly back and do him more injury than it can do me."

De Foe apologises for the length of his vindication, rendered necessary by the unfounded charges of his opponent. "To be called prostitute, hackney, tool, foul-mouth-mongrel, that writes for bread, and lives by defamation, insolent scribbler, a scandalous pen, and the like," is language so gross, that De Foe archly insinuates the improbability of this noble lord being its author. The remainder of the pamphlet is chiefly an examination of the political topics adverted to in the speech, and a defence of the queen's ministers. These are the persons principally aimed at by the noble Lord, "and the *Review* must be a tool employed by them, or else rallying him would not reach them." Thus, says he, "I am brought in for a place; but God knows, without a salary. I must have a pension! I wish he was not in the wrong; for as I have hitherto said nothing but the truth, I know nothing dishonourable in being so encouraged to speak. But 'tis my misfortune that it is not so; but on the contrary, I am the mean thing my author esteems me, for speaking that truth which all the world has since found true, and that no man feels the injury of, but I and my family." (N)

Nothing can better illustrate the spirit of the times, than the debate that took place towards the end of the year, upon

(N) Lord Haversham's libel upon De Foe, was inserted at full length in "The Complete History of Europe," for this year, page 494; but without the antidote furnished by his very able and touching reply.

the danger of the church. In order to expose that bugbear of intolerance, at the suggestion of Lord Halifax, the sixth of December was appointed for an inquiry by the Lords, into those dangers concerning which so many tragical stories had been published. The Earl of Rochester, who opened the debate, traced them to the Act of Security in Scotland; the absence of the heir to the crown; and the loss of the Occasional Bill. To these several reasons Lord Halifax made a suitable reply, observing, amongst other things, upon the inconsistency of the Tories, in thus bringing forward the Hanover succession, which they had always looked upon as detrimental to the church; and it was not long since that a clergyman in convocation had openly called the Princess Sophia *an unbaptised Lutheran!* Compton, bishop of London, grounded his opinion of the church's danger, upon the licentiousness of the press, and rebellious sermons; alluding particularly to one by Hoadly, in which he had countenanced resistance in extreme cases. Burnet told him he was treading upon tender ground; for upon no other principle could he justify his own appearance in arms at the Revolution. Archbishop Sharp founded his jealousy of the church's danger upon the increase of Dissenters, and the number of their academies; and moved that the judges might be consulted as to what laws were in force for their suppression; upon which Lord Wharton retorted upon him the encouragement that was given to the seminaries of Non-jurors, in one of which the archbishop himself had placed two of his sons for education. Patrick, bishop of Ely, and Hough, of Lichfield and Coventry, complained of the insubordination of the inferior clergy, and the calumnies they raised against their diocesans. The former wished for a commission to visit the Universities, where the tutors instilled such principles into their pupils, that when they went to their parishes, they raised a clamour about the church, that produced disturbances highly detrimental to public charity. Lord Somers closed

the debate by recapitulating the arguments of both parties, and enumerating the blessings that accrued to the nation by the enjoyment of religious freedom. The church's danger being put to the vote, it was decided in the negative by a large majority; and the Lords came to the following resolution: "That the Church of England, as by law established, which was rescued from the extremest danger by King William the Third, of glorious memory, is now by God's blessing, under the happy reign of her majesty, in a most safe and flourishing condition; and whoever goes about to suggest and insinuate, that the Church is in danger, under her majesty's administration, is an enemy to the queen, the church and the kingdom." This resolution was incorporated in an address to the queen, recommending her to prosecute all persons who should be found propagating the senseless clamour; and the Commons having presented a similar address, a proclamation was issued for the purpose of making the resolution more public.*

Upon this transaction, a writer of those times observes, "This was the finishing stroke to all the vain hopes of the Tories, and in their dying agonies they were at a loss where to discharge their fury. But, as the Gauls, when the Fabii assisted their enemies, left the first object of their rage, and directed all their fury against their confederates; so, these desperadoes drew off all their forces from their hereditary foes, the Dissenters, and turned their pens and tongues against the queen and government, satirized the most venerable heads of the church, ridiculed all moderate counsels, and complimented the three estates with the title of betrayers and ravishers of their holy mother."† The only cause for alarm arose from these very men, who are thus described by Burnet: "There was an evil spirit, and a virulent temper spread among the clergy: there were many indecent sermons

* Boyer's Q. Anne, p. 215—219. † Impartial View, p. 45.

preached on public occasions; and those hot clergymen who were not the most regular in their lives, had raised factions in many dioceses against their bishops. These were dangers created by those very men who filled the nation with this outcry against imaginary ones; while their own conduct produced real and threatening dangers."* Burnet, in common with others of his order, was eternally abused by this party as "a Presbyterian Prelate;" but the slander of such men was no discredit to him. Of their temper, De Foe has recorded a lively instance, in the case of a clergyman of the diocese of Sarum, who, being reproved by the bishop for his bigotry, had the assurance to tell him, "That it was as impossible to be saved out of the pale of the Church of England, as it would have been to escape drowning out of Noah's ark in the general deluge."†

The interference of parliament upon so ludicrous a subject, would excite mirth in the present day. Even at that time, it was beneath the gravity of legislation; for what had parliament to do with the contentions of churches, and the squabbles of their clergy, unless it was to bind all the parties, as members of the state, to keep the peace. Nothing but the exclusive privileges and rich endowments of a favoured party, wrung from the ignorant and the superstitious, and unwisely perpetuated by the civil power, could have afforded any handle for invading the rights of other men, and setting the nation in a flame for the purpose of sanctifying the plunder. The arrogant pretensions put forth by the clergy, would have been treated with ridicule; and they would have been considered fitter subjects for a strait-waistcoat, than for the interference of the legislature. Their clamour against the government was met by De Foe with a strain of banter befitting the occasion. Several of his *Reviews* are devoted to

* Burnet's Own Time, iv. 135. † Review, ii. 246.

the subject; and whilst he sports with their nonsense, he treats their bigotry with merited contempt.

Towards the end of the year, there appeared a tract, in quarto and octavo, with the following title: "A True Relation of the Apparition of one Mrs. Veal, the next day after her death, to one Mrs. Bargrave, at Canterbury, the 8th of September, 1705, which Apparition recommends the perusal of Drelincourt's Book of Consolations against the Fear of Death. London, 1705." 4to. Common fame has attributed this story to De Foe, and it is founded upon the following tradition amongst the booksellers. When Drelincourt's book, intitled "Consolations against the Fear of Death," first appeared in the English language, the publisher was disappointed in the sale, and being a heavy work, he is said to have complained to De Foe of the injury he was likely to sustain by it. Daniel asked him if he had blended any thing marvellous with his pious advice, which the bookseller answered in the negative. If you wish to have your book sell, replies he, I will put you in the way of it; and he immediately set down, and composed the story of the Apparition, which was made to recommend Drelincourt's book, and has been appended to every subsequent edition. After this, there was no complaint for want of a sale; and since then the work has passed through more than forty editions. The first English translation was made by Marius D'Assigny, B. D., but the defects of it occasioned another to be undertaken by Mr. Stackhouse, in 1725, the apparition story being still retained.

In this extraordinary narrative, rendered so by its mode of execution, no less than by the occasion that produced it, De Foe gave an earnest of those inventive powers, which he afterwards exercised upon more interesting subjects. Sir Walter Scott, in his account of De Foe, has illustrated his peculiar style of composition, which renders his narratives so

plausible, by a dissection of this story. "We are induced to this," says he, "because the account of the origin of the pamphlet is curious, the pamphlet itself short, and, though once highly popular, now little read or known; and particularly because De Foe has put in force, within these few pages, peculiar specimens of his art of recommending the most improbable narrative, by his specious and serious mode of telling it.

"De Foe's genius and audacity devised a plan which, for assurance and ingenuity, defied even the powers of Mr. Puff, in the *Critic;* for who but himself would have thought of summoning up a ghost from the grave to bear witness in favour of a halting body of divinity? There is a matter-of-fact business-like style in the whole account of the transaction, which bespeaks ineffable powers of self-possession. The narrative is drawn up "by a gentleman, a *justice of peace* at Maidstone, in Kent, a very intelligent person." And, moreover, "the discourse is attested by a very sober and understanding gentlewoman, who lives in Canterbury, within a few doors of the house in which Mrs. Bargrave lives." The justice believes his kinswoman to be of so discerning a spirit as not to be put upon by any fallacy, and the kinswoman positively assures the justice, "that the whole matter, as it is related and laid down, is really true, and what she herself heard, as near as may be, from Mrs. Bargrave's own mouth, who, she knows, had no reason to invent or publish such a story, or any design to forge or tell a lie; being a woman of so much honesty and virtue, and her whole life a course, as it were, of piety." Scepticism itself could not resist this triple court of evidence so artfully combined, the justice attesting for the discerning spirit of the sober and understanding gentlewoman, his kinswoman, and his kinswoman becoming bail for the veracity of Mrs. Bargrave."

After going over the particulars of the story, the leading points of which Sir Walter has happily discriminated, he

thus concludes: "When we have thus turned the tale the seam without, it may be thought too ridiculous to have attracted notice. But whoever will read it as told by De Foe himself, will agree that, could the thing have happened in reality, so it would have been told. The sobering the whole supernatural visit into the language of middle or low life, gives it an air of probability even in its absurdity. The ghost of an exciseman's housekeeper, and a seamstress, were not to converse like Brutus with his evil genius. And the circumstance of scoured silks, broken china, and such like, while they are the natural topics of such person's conversation, would, one might have thought, be the last which an inventor would have introduced into a pretended narrative betwixt the dead and the living. In short, the whole is so distinctly circumstantial, that were it not for the impossibility, or extreme improbability at least, of such an occurrence, the evidence could not but support the story."*

The second volume of the *Review*, which commenced the 3d of March, 1705, terminated the 27th of December. In an early part of the volume, the author announced his intention of complying with the wishes of those who desired its appearance three times a week; and upon the 23d of March, Thursday was added to the other days of publication. The whole volume contains 127 numbers, besides preface and index, and the following title was prefixed: "A Review of the Affairs of France, with Observations on Transactions at Home. Vol. ii. London: printed in the year 1705." 4to. pp. 558.

In the preface, he tells us, that he had intended to write more largely upon the subject of trade, but was diverted from his purpose, by the urgency of our domestic affairs; and that his labours in behalf of peace, had given so much satisfaction

* Miscellaneous Works of Sir W. Scott, iv. 304—312.

to those upon whose judgment he most relied, that he felt the necessity of continuing the subject to the close of the volume. Of his success in promoting this great object, besides the altered tone of the government and the parliament, he had undeniable testimony in the implacable rage and malice of the high party, by which they acknowledged the injury he had done to their cause, than which he desired no greater honour. "It would be endless to me, and tiresome to the reader," says he, "to repeat the threatening letters, the opprobious terms, the bear-garden language, I have daily thrown upon me for persuading men to peace. If I had been assassinated as often as I have been threatened with pistols, daggers, and swords, I had long ago paid dear for this undertaking." The weak grounds which people had for their resentment, he illustrates in the conduct of some country justices, whose pompous threatenings evaporated in noise and bluster. The remarkable turn of public affairs, he tells us, had spread a general joy over the face of the people; and he pays a proper compliment to the queen, for her share in effecting the revolution. De Foe subscribes his name at full length to the preface, and annexes to it the advertisement below. (o)

The volume opens with a HYMN addressed to TRUTH, for which the author invokes the reader's candour, and promises not to be troublesome with his poetry. It occupies three full pages, and contains the following lines in allusion to himself:

> "What! tho' thy suppliant votary appears
> Mean and despised, unworthy this employ;
> Plainness, thy native dress, becomes them best
> That would resemble Truth: And who would not?
>
> Blest truth, this pen from its most early birth,
> Was dedicate to Thee; and thro' fierce storms

(o) "The gentlemen who were pleased to be subscribers for the encouragement of this work, in spite of all the banter and reproaches of the town, if they please to send to Mr. Matthews, may have the volume of this last year delivered to them *gratis*, printed upon the *fine* paper.

Has dar'd thy dreaded standard to pursue;
Nor has thy dang'rous service e'er declin'd,
Disown'd thee, chang'd his side, or face, or tale;
Therefore contemn'd, insulted, and oppress'd,
Upon his breast he shews the scars he gain'd;
Blest trophies, in thy war, his boast and glory!
For in thy aid who would not love to die?
And he that quits thee lives with infamy."

The first ninety pages of the volume are devoted to the affairs of trade, upon which he has many acute and sensible remarks, discovering no less the fertility of his mind, than its soundness when employed upon the subject. By far the largest portion of the volume is occupied in the strife of parties, which De Foe laboured earnestly to compose. In the severe remarks which he felt it his duty to make upon the extravagancies of the high-flyers, he is anxious to be understood as not meaning any thing disrespectful to the clergy in general. "I have never been backward," says he, "to express myself with all that reverence and regard to the sober, moderate, and pious part of the clergy of England, which becomes me, not in charity only, but in real duty and respect: and this not in print only, but also in conversation. For the truth of it, I refer, not only to what I have printed, but to several of the clergy themselves, with whom I have the honour to converse; and I challenge all the world to prove the contrary."*

The "Advice from the Scandal Club" was continued only a small way into the volume, the last article of the kind appearing the 24th of April. It was then announced as a separate publication, under the title of "The Little Review or an Inquisition of Scandal: consisting in Answers to Questions and Doubts, Remarks, Observations, and Reflections."(P) The first number appeared the 6th of June; and

* Review, ii. 433.

(P) In the *Review*, for May 15, is the following announcement of the work, with the author's reasons for undertaking it: "The author of the

the, last the 21st of August, when it was discontinued. In the introductory number, he traces the origin of this appendage to his work, which was beside his design in writing the *Review*, and as it encroached upon it, he found himself under the necessity either of making it a separate publication, or of giving it up altogether. It having been reported, that he wrote three or four papers a week, he declares that he wrote nothing but the *Review*, besides what hand he had in this supplemental paper.(Q)

paper, finding the public and more weighty subject he is now upon, is more than sufficient to take up all the room, both in his serious thoughts, and in the paper itself, had on that account, for some time past, thought fit to adjourn the diverting part, till those more valuable matters were something over. But finding the multitude and variety of things before him not less pressing now than ever, and the brevity of the paper not giving any tolerable dispatch, he has resolved for the future, to leave quite out the said part called 'Advice from the Scandal Club.' If those gentlemen who do no love to read a long story, should think it too grave, he gives them this notice: That he shall study to make it as entertaining as he can, and at least hopes that its usefulness may recommend it to their patience. At the same time, because he is willing to oblige those gentlemen who have thought him capable to resolve their doubts, and to reprove the vices and scandalous practices of the age, he gives notice, that the Scandal Club, who are now as really a society as before they were not, will publish their proceedings in a paper by itself, every Wednesday and Friday, in which, perhaps, the reader may be more obliged as to profit and delight, than he was before."

(Q) The following specimen of the work, whilst it amuses the reader, will serve to illustrate the peculiar bent of De Foe's genius:—"Gentlemen of the Inquisition. Pray inform me whether a servant may lawfully tell a lie for his master? For I live with one that frequently commands me to do so, though against my conscience." To this, the Society freely answer, You ought not to obey your master, but your own conscience; and 'tis grounded on the known question of St. Paul to the Jews, *Whether it is better to obey God rather than man, judge you ?*" But, for this young man's conduct, they give him the following advice. If his master will have him lie, let him tell it as a lie. For example, if his master will have him say, he is not at home when he is above at dinner, let him do as a certain boy did, when his master bid him deny him. 'Is your master at home?' says a person.—'He says he is not at home, Sir,' says the boy.—'What do you mean by that?' says the gentleman. 'Nothing, Sir,' says the boy, 'I

De Foe's labours as a news-writer, often exposed him to the attacks of those who occupied a similar post. It was not, indeed, to be expected that he would escape the common fate of such writers, and he prepared himself for the consequence. Upon Dr. Browne, one of his rivals, he bestows the following remarks: "Another gentleman declares, when he can spare himself from his sublimer studies, as he calls them, he resolves to review the *Reviews*. With all my heart, most sublime Sir; the author writes for all the world to review him. When your opinion differs from mine, why should you not publish it? Where your judgment is able to inform mine, why should I repine? I'll rather thank you. I never pretended to be infallible, and shall always frankly own my errors when I see them; but intreat you not to think you have a victory every time I do not think fit to reply. I also humbly desire from all the world this justice, that they will please to charge me with nothing falsely; and as to all their better information upon things, I declare to have wrote this to move the emulation of better judgments, to say something more to the purpose than I can, that if they cannot grow wiser by me, I may grow wiser by them; and I'll thank them heartily for the performance."*

The author who threatened to review his paper, executed his purpose in the month of May, in "The Review Reviewed;" but he could not provoke a reply. The contention between them was that of the times, and may be summed up in the merits of high and low-church. Browne's language

never mean.' 'Sirrah, is your master at home?' repeats the gentleman.—'Sir,' says the boy, 'If you will not believe himself, I am certain you will not believe me; I told you before, he says he is not at home; if you want to know what I say, I must tell you, it is not my business to contradict my master.'" Upon this, De Foe goes on to say, "If your master will have you tell a lie, tell it as his own lie, and let it be known; and you will soon put a stop to the unreasonable command."

* Review, ii. 21, 22.

was coarse, abusive, and violent. Having published some specimens of a new translation of Horace into English verse, De Foe retaliated by criticising his bad grammar, and brings him before his "Inquisition of Scandal," for correction; but Browne did not relish either his jokes or his criticism. He therefore published a half sheet in his own vindication; which De Foe says, ought to have been called, "A Confession and Acknowledgment of two mistakes in the Specimen of the Translation of Horace." De Foe vindicated his criticism, and tells him, that although he disdained to take a hint from such "an illiterate fellow," as he had been pleased to call him, yet he professed to have read Horace and Virgil, as often as himself. Whilst Browne flounces and flings his taunts at De Foe, the latter out-laughs his adversary, without departing from the decencies of language. "Had the Doctor," says he, "begun with the author as a gentleman, and as a man of letters ought to have done, these remarks had been civilly transmitted to him by way of letter; but he having first broke all the laws of courtesy and good breeding, left him without any obligation. And as he seems to tell the world, that 'tis difficult to teach the author to be a critick, he replies, 'Tis true; but not very difficult to be critick enough to find out intolerable blunders in his translation of Horace, unless he makes the work better than the specimens."*

Attempts were often made to drag him into disputes with other papers; but De Foe was averse to such contests, and rarely engaged in them. His silence upon these occasions was construed by his enemies into collusion, and he was charged with taking bribes for the purpose; but he throws back the insinuation as beneath his character, "as it ought to be below any honest man to suggest, unless he can make it out."† The writer with whom he seems to have been

* Little Review, pp. 5, 6, 13, 14. † Review, ii. 80.

most averse to a conflict, was Tutchin, who often attacked him in his "Observators." As they were fellow-labourers in the same cause, De Foe justly thought that it would suffer by their strife, which induced him generally to pass him over in silence. Being aroused by his repeated attacks, he says, "The author of the 'Observator' having treated me in a most scurrilous manner in several of his papers, but without all bounds in his last, I cannot but think myself obliged to examine the reasons of his behaviour, and the truth of his allegations; and exposing their falsity shall be answer enough for me. I see no such beauty in his dialect, to treat him in the same rude manner. He says, I have read but little: I believe I may pretend to have read more than himself, and yet make no great pretence to books; but this I have read, that raillery and ill language are no help to an argument, much less forgery and mistake."* He had often invoked this writer to peace, as well by private communications, as publicly in his paper; and when he found no reasoning could prevail, he assures him, he shall give himself no more trouble to confute his mistakes, but answer his follies, as he had always done, with the contempt of silence: "Nor had I done otherwise now," says he, "but as moved to it in my own just defence."†

Another writer with whom De Foe had frequent bickerings, was John Dyer, author of the "News-Letter," "the famous country-trumpet of the party; a fellow that, however affronting to the government and the church, writes with intolerable insolence; who has borne kicking, caning, and all sorts of common correction, for belying and abusing private gentlemen, and spreads continued reproaches on the government around the country." De Foe adds, "It would be endless, and below the design of this paper, as well as of its author, to enter into the innumerable crimes of a news-

* Review, ii. 133. † Ibid, 135.

writer, whose letter in manuscript, by the name of 'Dyer's Letter,' is seen in many parts of the country, and whose only token of grace is, that he justly shuns its being seen in town. 'This man, to verify an English proverb, The farther from court the more news,' frequently puts into his paper things without colour, without pretence, and without the least shadow of truth." To substantiate this grave charge, De Foe adduces some extracts from his paper, relating to India affairs, and the conduct of the Company, for which Dyer was censured by the House of Commons.* His paper was devoted to the support of the most extravagant high-church notions, and was printed upon a type resembling writing. (R)

Of all De Foe's antagonists, the most formidable for learning, pertinacity, and consideration with his party, was Leslie, the Non-juror: this he himself acknowledges. After dismissing some other opponents, he says, "I am now to defend myself against a much superior antagonist, both for learning and language, but unhappy in being equally obstinate in advancing positive falsehood;" a reproach Leslie had cast upon the *Review*. The "Rehearsal" was the organ of the high-party, especially the Non-jurors. It partook in an eminent degree of the sour spirit of the times, enhanced by the extreme bigotry of the writer. The Jacobites promoted the sale of the paper to the utmost of their power, and often distributed it gratis. De Foe says, "If 'tis his honour to be the esteemed favourite of those who are the professed enemies of the present establishment, he is welcome to value himself upon it; but I desire he will not put me upon the proof of the particulars,

* Review, ii. 297.

(R) The little credit that was to be attached to this writer, is thus noticed by Addison, in the *Drummer*, Act II, Scene 1. Honest Vellum cannot but believe his master is living, "because the news of his death was first published in Dyer's *Letter*."

since the honest thinking churchmen cannot but blush to think they should be taught what to read by those who cannot by their own principles wish the prosperity of the church; for when they do so, they must cease to be Jacobites, and act against their avowed principles." Leslie resorted to the foulest language, in his attacks upon the *Review*. These our author repels with spirit, whilst he pursues, with provoking pertinacity, the points in debate. The slavish principles upheld in the "Rehearsal," he treats with merited contempt, and advises those who recommend it to the people, to blush for their folly, in doing as much as in them lies to betray their country, and dethrone their sovereign. He tells Leslie, that if he thinks him severe, he has, nevertheless, spared him in an abundance of cases, in which he had the power of exposing him, as a testimony that he courted peace, rather than strife and division.*

In reply to his numerous opponents, he says, "In this manner is this paper attacked, both by friend and foe. Envy and enmity give the author no rest; but while he is pressing all the world to peace, wars are raised against him on every side. His own defence is nothing; but his integrity and care in what he writes, must suffer no scandal that can be avoided; and he resolves, in every charge, to let the matter of fact be his answer. If he is wrong, it shall be an acknowledgment; if right, a defence; and the thing, not the person accusing, shall be what, on all occasions, he will regard, in order to leave behind him the volumes of the *Review*, whatever their author may be, as unexceptionable as possible." †

* Review, ii. 150. † Ibid, 151.

CHAPTER XIX.

De Foe publishes "A Hymn to Peace."—Renews his Complaints against the Printers.—He is attacked by Francis Bugg.—His Account of that Writer. More Injuries to his Literary Reputation.—Libel upon the Review.—De Foe's Vindication of Himself.—His Paper Stolen from the Coffee-Houses. —Advertises a Work upon Toleration against Toland.—His narrow View of the Subject.—Remarks upon the Mode of Dealing with adverse Opinions. —Account of the Mine Adventure.—Submitted to the Judgment of De Foe. —He discusses its Merits.—And pronounces against it.—Bill for the Relief of Bankrupts.—De Foe's Zeal in Promoting it.—His Disinterested Conduct.—His Satire upon the Commissioners.—Answer to Threatenings.—He publishes Remarks upon the Bill.—His Satire upon the Bailiffs and Lawyers.—Reply to his Pamphlet.—Dr. Browne sets up a Paper against him. Some Account of it.—De Foe's Strictures upon his Writings.—He is Attacked by the Curate of Stepney.—His Poem on "The Fight of Ramillies." —His Scheme for the Regulation of Mad-houses.—He writes a Preface to "Delaune's Plea".—His Account of the Occasion of that Work.—And the Treatment of the Author.—His Reply to Opponents.—Robertson's Reply to Delaune.—His Letter to De Foe.

1706.

The disposition now manifested by the parliament to assuage the heat of parties, suggested an agreeable topic to the rhyming faculties of De Foe. The year 1706 was opened by him with, "A Hymn to Peace. Occasioned by the two Houses joining in one Address to the Queen. By the Author of 'The True-Born Englishman.' London: printed for John Nutt, near Stationers'-Hall. 1706." 4to. pp. 60. Published the 10th of January. The poem is in Pindaric verse, a metre much in vogue at the time, and strongly reprobated

by Johnson. As a specimen of the work, the reader may take the following passage, descriptive of his own misfortunes, and of the composure of mind with which he sustained them :—

"Of all thy blest admiring train,
'Tis hard that I alone should wish in vain!
That I at distance view thy shade;
Am lean with expectation made!
When to the world thou mak'st a short return,
Me only thou hast scorn'd to shun!
Me, thou re-visit'st not; but storms of men,
Voracious and unsatisfied as death,
Spoil in their hands, and poison in their breath,
With rage of devils hunt me down,
And to abate my peace, destroy their own.

"Brought up in teaching sorrow's school,
In peace and patience I possess my soul;
Am master of my mind,
And there the heaven of satisfaction find.
Let them ten thousand barbarous methods try,
When they'll no longer let me live, I'll die;
Of all their fury I shall have
An uncontested conquest in the grave.

"Till then, blest Angel of Eternal Light,
Soft Peace, be thou the day's delight,
Be thou my solace in the night:
'Tis thou alone inspir'st my pen,
And calm'st my soul, and keeps it smooth within:
Witness the daily tribute that I pay,
Witness this very Hymn to thee."

Soon after the commencement of the year, De Foe had to renew his complaints against the printers, for pirating his works; and also for affixing his name continually to the trash they caused to be cried about the streets. In his *Review* for the 5th of February, he writes thus:—

"I have often complained of the injury done me by piratical printers, and tired with expectation of redress, had given over the complaint. But I am now dealt with another way, by printing things in my name, which I had no concern

in, crying them about the street as mine; nay, and at last are come to that height of injury, as to print my name to every scandalous trifle. And yet, I had taken no notice of this, had I not happened to see two gentlemen of quality, strangers to me, run away with the mistake, buy the paper, and read the nauseous ribaldry of a half-penny pirate, as mine. I thought I had no need to tell the world what are, and are not, my writing; since some would be thought so knowing as to pretend they could swear to the style, especially when 'tis to my disadvantage. But above all, I was in hopes I need not defend myself against these single sheets and half-sheets; from whence I intreat my friends to observe, once for all, that whenever they meet with a penny or half-penny paper, sold or cried about the streets, they would conclude them not mine. I never write penny papers, this excepted, nor ever shall, unless my name is publickly set to them; and I hope this will clear me of the scandal, though it cannot fortify me against the damage."

De Foe continues, "But I am not only abused in matters of copy, but in subject also, by a person wholly a stranger, who takes the liberty first to charge me falsely, and then to make me speak ridiculously, the better to confirm what he pretends to advance, which I take to be one of the worst sorts of forgery. The case shortly is this:—Having occasion, in a former *Review*, to mention the Quakers among the several sorts of Dissenters, I concluded by expressing my belief, that they are not only Christians, but many of them better Christians than those who pretend to condemn them. For this, I am fallen upon by a certain man of volumes, for it seems he has written many, in a penny book, intitled, 'The Quakers' Catechism;' to which, as a shoeing-horn to draw in the people to buy it, is added in the title, *The Shortest Way with Daniel De Foe:* a true printer's cheat, that, when people were expecting great things, and some new proposal concerning what was to be done with the man that so many want to be rid of, when they come to look into the book,

found it to contain nothing but a long rhapsody of Billingsgate language, and raillery against the Quakers, which he must have a great talent of self-denial, that can bear the reading. At the end is a loud challenge upon the poor *Review*, for saying, he hoped the Quakers were Christians, offering a conference, and desiring me to get a deputation from the Quakers to meet him, and hear him prove the negative.

"Indeed, this author, whose name, it seems, is Francis Bugg, had been answered by silence, the general return I give to such rudenesses, had I not thought it necessary a little to clear up my charity, and show the grounds I had for it, which I think every man bound to do; and this, not so much for the satisfaction of Mr. Bugg, who, I am informed, may be much sooner confuted than silenced, as for vindicating that true Christian spirit of charity, which I think the laws of God and man oblige me to. It must not be expected that I shall here undertake to examine or vindicate the principles of the Quakers, who, at the same time, do not profess them; nor shall I enter into any of this author's elaborate scandals; who, like Satan, brings a railing accusation. Let him go on with his large folio, which he says he is printing: I dare say nobody will give himself the trouble to reply, and not many to read him; for I am told, it is very difficult for him to write any thing he has not printed before, and that has not been often answered.* (s)

* Review, iii. 62, 3.

(s) In another *Review*, De Foe, in allusion to the Tory Addresses presented at the latter end of this reign, says, "I cannot but liken them to some late books written by Mr. Bugg against the Quakers. Those they were wrote for, would not read them; those they were wrote against, did not value them; those that read them, did not understand them; those that understood them, did not like them; those that liked them, would not buy them; his friends would not vindicate them; his enemies would not trouble themselves to answer them; and he that wrote them, did not believe them: and all this but the last was from the character of the author."—*Review*, viii. 30.

In the present day, when the Quakers have fully established their claims to those honourable distinctions which elevate man in the scale of being, it would seem needless to go about proving their christianity. It was different, however, when our author wrote. Leslie, and many other writers equally distinguished by their want of charity, as well as common sense, excluded them, in common with all Dissenters, from the pale of salvation. But their bigotry, which was then mischievous, inasmuch as it served to alarm the civil power, as well as to frighten old women and children, is fit only to be despised, and the men laughed at for their folly.

Before the month of February was expired, De Foe had to complain of more injuries to his literary reputation; which he unfolds in the following narrative. "The author of this paper is so used to ill-treatment, and the world handles him so roughly in all respects, that if any impartial persons were to judge, they would wonder he should not take the advantage of return. But as resentment is not to the gust of his inclination, so he is not at all concerned at the learned railings of a gentleman who sent him the fable of Jupiter and the Actor, with a *mutato nomine de te:* nor, at another, who, with his ill-language, sent him word, that good manners were not due to him: only, he tells both these gentlemen, if they will give him their names, that the world may applaud their wit as well as breeding, he will freely publish their sarcasms upon himself, leaving the world to find out the jest if they can; for he never knew any in ill-language." *

About this time, De Foe was attacked in an anonymous libel, called "The Moderation, Justice, and Manners of the *Review*, exemplified from his own works. Lond. 1706." 4to. The writer opens upon him by observing, "That he had for a long time abused the nation with pretensions of peace and moderation, whilst nothing less was at his heart," and he

* Review, iii. 87.

intimates that "several well-inclined people had been seduced by his sophistical way of writing." De Foe was highly gratified with the success of his labours, and had no need to be ashamed of the cause. Nor had he any greater reason to be alarmed for the efforts of a writer, who could assert unblushingly, that "that most excellent prince, King Charles I. was by his rebellious subjects deprived of his government, under *specious pretensions* for religion and property." But of the pamphlet De Foe shall speak for himself.

"Another gentleman has industriously collected out of the *Review*, abundance of paragraphs, and formed them into a book, to make them look, as he thinks, frightful to the world, when separated from, and read without, the connection to which they belong. Now, this method would make a monster of the very scripture itself; yet I am very well pleased with his book, and completely to answer the gentleman's design, viz. the sale of it, I heartily recommend it to the publick: 1. Because I see nothing there which I can upon sedate reflection think ill timed or improper: 2. Because the impotent malice of the author, in recommending me to the public justice of the government and the parliament, neither of which I have any cause to apprehend, is so very conspicuous, that I need say nothing more of that book than this,—that it is much malice mingled with little wit. However, I cannot but let the world know, that the Moderation of the *Review* is easier to be made out than some people imagine, and in nothing more than in this: that he has on innumerable occasions omitted to expose even the very party he has argued against, merely to provoke them to that peace he has exhorted to *by his own example.*"*

Another injury inflicted upon our author, was, to steal his *Reviews* from the coffee-houses; which was sometimes practised by the high-party, in order that they might not be

* Review, iii. 88.

read."* This paltry mode of warfare, whilst it attested the power of his writings, reflected no honour upon the men who betrayed so little confidence in the value of their own exertions.

In his *Review* for the ninth of February, he advertises, as preparing for the press, "Universal Toleration considered: An Enquiry how far it is reasonable for the Dissenters to declare themselves upon that head." As the work was not afterwards advertised as published, it was most likely laid aside by the author for more pressing engagements. It was intended as a reply to Toland, who had projected a work upon the subject, and by way of forerunner, had sent a letter to each of the three denominations of Dissenters, inviting them to declare themselves upon the subject, and to give their answers in writing. The reason he assigns for urging it, is, "to remove the scandals endeavoured to be thrown upon them as a people of a persecuting temper; who, while they make loud complaints against persecution, talk much of the sovereignty of conscience, and the right of mankind to a liberty of worshipping God their own way, would themselves, were the power put in their hands, push upon coercives, assert the divine right of their own constitution, and make equal restraints upon their fellow-christians that differed from them." In order to clear themselves from this scandal, he thought it proper that they should undeceive the world, by a declaration of their principles. Mr. Stephens had also proposed the same thing, in his "Letter to the Author of the Memorial of the State of England," in which he considers it a debt they owe to the Papists, who charge the Protestants, in general, with persecuting principles; and he insinuates, that nothing but this can entitle them to a right of toleration themselves. "All men," says he, "have

* Review, iii, 104.

a right to the liberty of their consciences, except those who have denied that liberty to others."

De Foe handles the point at some length, in his preface to "*Jure Divino*," in which he contends that the Dissenters were not called upon to declare themselves either way; and it seems they followed this course, by remaining altogether silent upon the subject. In declaring his own opinion with regard to toleration, De Foe drank into the prejudices of the times. He was for extending it to the multifarious forms of worship adopted by christians, as matters of an indifferent nature, but would restrict it to what he terms orthodox believers. In unfolding his sentiments, he says, "That christians, of what denomination soever, being orthodox in principle, and sound in doctrine, have a native right to liberty of serving God, according to the dictates of their own consciences, and ought to be tolerated, provided they behave themselves peaceably under the government, and obedient in all things to the civil magistracy of the country in which they live. That I should say the same of opinions that are blasphemous and heretical, that deny the fundamentals of the Christian religion, derogate from the nature or attributes of God, or the honour and divinity of our Redeemer, or any the like desperate errors, I see no foundation for in the scripture, or in the nature of the thing." Conscious that objections would be started against so narrow a view of the doctrine of toleration, he thus explains himself upon his term orthodoxy. "If it should be inquired here, who shall determine what is or is not orthodox, and alleged, that every man being possessed with the soundness of his own opinions, this will send us all to Rome for an infallible judge in every dispute; I must answer, there is no occasion for any such difficulties. The few things which serve to declare the difference between an orthodox Christian and a heretick are so plain, so visible in scripture, so explicit in our creeds and confessions of faith, in which all

orthodox Christians agree, that we need go no further. The Scripture is allowed by all Christians to be the rule of faith, sufficient to instruction. The Christian confessions of faith, are, a collection of the fundamental heads of our religion, deduced from the said scriptures, composed of plain, indisputable truths, unto which whoever agrees, though in the addenda and circumstances of order, discipline and manner, he may differ, he is in the sense of all Christians an orthodox believer."

The foregoing passage has been cited rather as a record of De Foe's opinions, than for the intrinsic value of his argument. In his limited views of toleration, he fell into the common error of his day; an error much more fatal to society, than any that he would have proscribed. No man is so opposed to himself as to imagine that he can be in the wrong, whether his opinions be popular or otherwise; neither is it in his power to believe as others would have him, however well-disposed to follow the fashion. Faith must be the result of conviction; but a compulsive profession is no better than hypocrisy. Such being the case, to persecute men for their opinions, however erroneous, is as irrational as it is wicked, and always defeats its object. Montesquieu has well observed, that, "If there were nothing of inhumanity in forcing the consciences of others, and it occasioned none of those ill-effects which spring up from it by thousands, a man must be a fool to offer at it. He that would have me change my religion, does it, no doubt, because he would not change his own, if he were to be forced to it; so that he wonders I will not do a thing, which, perhaps, he would not do himself for the empire of the universe."* Since the days of De Foe, both Churchmen and Dissenters have found out a more rational way of dealing with moral truths. Yet, still, much bigotry remains

* Persian Letters, Let. 85.

to be rooted out. The zealots of all sects, whose opinions are the result of strong impressions, derived from education, or otherwise, and unmitigated by the study of the human mind, are as presumptuous in their decisions, and as exclusive in their charity, as the bigots of former times; and if they had the power, would probably deal out to them the same measure of injustice. This is only in the natural course of things. But few, comparatively speaking, possess the leisure, and still fewer the needful requisites for calm investigation. Hence it is that so many are deficient in that forbearance which flows from a sense of imperfection, and is fatal to the pride which exacts unqualified submission to easily-acquired opinions. Considering the strong feeling that prevails upon every thing connected with religion, it is not surprising that the passions of the multitude are easily inflamed; nor that they should imbibe the strong prejudices that are inculcated with so much warmth by their teachers. That they should feel an interest in opinions which they believe to affect their salvation, is a matter for commendation; so long as it does not embitter the feelings, and disturb the relations of social intercourse. The great mischief arising from sectarian zeal, whether it refers to ecclesiastical rites, or theological opinions, is, that it too often generates a spirit hostile to kindness, and nurtured by pride and self-sufficiency. It is something worse than ludicrous to see superficial men, sitting in judgment upon those who have devoted a long life to laborious study, and hurling upon them the judgments of heaven, as if they had an express commission for the purpose. As no man willingly embraces error, so he is not to be cured of it by irrational means; and such are all those that injure him in his reputation or property; that hunt him from society; or visit him in any way with penal consequences. Men may debate their differences without entrenching either upon their manners or their charity; but to quarrel with a man for a difference of judgment, which

perchance may be the result of much study and reflection, argues an imbecility of mind, and a defect of charity, not creditable to a rational being.

A subject that engaged much of the public attention at this time, was the Mine Adventure; a joint-stock company, incorporated by patent, under the name of "The Governor and Company of the Mine Adventurers of England." Their mines consisted chiefly of lead and copper, but principally the former, which, it was alleged, contained a considerable quantity of silver. Upon so glittering a prospect, large sums were advanced, shares distributed by lottery, and money borrowed upon interest. A capital stock being thus created, the works were begun, mills and furnaces erected, lands bought, cottages and dwelling-houses built, and the success of the scheme seemed in a fair way of being realized. The interest of the money borrowed being to be paid before a dividend could be declared, and the capital decreasing by the constant expences of the undertaking, people became dispirited, and the shares fell. In order to recover them to their former value, and enlarge the credit of the Company, it was proposed to sink their capital, and convert the interest into a perpetual annuity.

The validity of this scheme being submitted to the judgment of De Foe, who had much of the spirit of a projector, he justly observes, that if the rents and profits of the concern enabled the company to discharge all its demands and incumbrances, without impairing the capital, then, without doubt, these annuities were formed upon a sufficient fund to secure their payment, and were consequently good. In order to ascertain how far this was the case, he proposed an inquiry into the nature and extent of their profits; and there was no foundation so proper to build upon, as a printed work of their own, intitled, "An Account of the clear Profits of extracting

Silver out of Lead, by the Governor and Commissioners of the Mine Adventure of England; taken from their original Accounts, and signed, 'Tho. Horn, Accountant to the Company,' and printed by order of a Court of Directors, for satisfaction of the said Company." A careful investigation of the accounts, convinced De Foe, that unless the Company had some other available means than those described, there would be no sufficient fund to pay the perpetual annuitants.

The history and merits of the mine adventure, are discussed with great coolness by De Foe, in his *Review* for April 30, 1706, and was little calculated to give offence. "But, as I have the misfortune never to please," says he, "where people judge by their interest, rather than their reason, I find myself very ill-treated, and severely threatened; and I suppose the end is to terrify me from making public what I have further to say upon that head. But in this, also, they will be mistaken; and as I have never been over apt to consult my prudentials, when truth and matter of fact are before me, though when much more powerful people are concerned than are here, so I am obliged to acquaint the world, that I think myself bound, to avoid the scandal of being afraid to speak the truth, to go on with my observations on that head; and, as I shall descend further into particulars than I intended first to do, I shall perhaps show such evidence for my calculations, as may inform the world of some particulars, concerning which they are at present ignorant, but will be very glad to know. As to threatenings and prosecutions, truth is above fear; and if I say any thing else, I ask no quarter." De Foe had no great opinion of this bubble, for so it eventually proved, and observes, "If ever the annuities can be made good, other than out of the principal, I'll do them all the justice imaginable, and blot them out of my nation's lunatics to put in greater. Till then, if ever I come to be keeper of the nation's mad-

house, I cannot in justice but set apart one of the largest rooms for the benefit of this Company."*

In the early part of the year, a Bill was brought into the Commons, intitled, "An Act to prevent frauds committed by bankrupts." De Foe, who appears to have had a considerable hand in forwarding the measure, both by his writings and his personal solicitations, bestows some useful remarks upon it in his *Reviews*. He observes, that the course then pursued was so far from answering the true intent of the law, that it only increased the number of bankrupts, and gave encouragement to frauds. To explain this, he endeavours to prove, that commissions of bankruptcy, though well-designed, were, in their practice, pernicious to trade, destructive to the interest both of debtor and creditor, and a temptation to dishonesty. The law lately made "for the imprisonment of debtors without bail, or distinction of circumstances," he describes as barbarous and inhuman; unequal in its nature, and unjust in practice; ruinous to trade, and tending to increase the number of failures. After duly considering these points, he tells us, he shall attempt a display of "the debtor's side of villany," and humbly offer such restraints both upon debtor and creditor, as shall effectually prevent, or severely punish fraudulent cases, without bearing heavily upon honest misfortune. He expresses himself in terms of great severity against the commissioners of bankrupts, who delayed their proceedings for some private advantage, and often wasted the estate of the debtor in long and vexatious law-suits. He remarks, with feelings of humanity, that, although bankrupts were then become the nation's grievance, yet they ought not to be excluded from the nation's care. "The miserable," says he, "are a rent-charge upon the govern-

* Review, iii. 205, 231, 366.

ment, which it cannot in justice abandon; and I cannot but think 'tis an error in the morality of our public conduct, rather to study punishment than prevention." *

De Foe highly approved of the Bill before the House; especially those clauses which gave encouragement to honest but unfortunate men to close their accounts betimes, and sheltered them from vexatious prosecutions. He insists strongly upon the injustice of the law that obliged the debtor to surrender his books and effects, without the certainty of their being accepted by the creditors, in order to his discharge. Whether his arguments had any influence or not, a clause to this effect was added to the Bill; and De Foe urges its acceptance with all his might, combatting the objections that were likely to be urged against it. He argues very justly, that we are not to forego the benefit of good laws, because there are knaves in the world who will evade or break them. In his pointed manner, he says, "as for fraudulent bankrupts, let them dye the death of a thief, as they deserve; highwaymen and robbers are a sort of gentlemen compared with them: but to punish the poor man who is ruined by them, in an equal manner, is just as if you should make it felony to be robbed, and hang the passenger with the highwayman."

It appears that some of the members opposed the Bill for the sake of the retrospective part; and there were strong reasons to suspect them of being influenced by personal motives. To such, De Foe says, "It is very hard to make men more criminal because they fell into the pit a year or so before their neighbours. This is singling out some men from the rest, and making a difference of persons where there is no difference of crime." De Foe had a strong impression that this clause was opposed by some persons with a particular view to himself; and he attended in the lobby of the

* Review, iii. 85.

peers, with the intention of proposing that his own interests should be sacrificed by a specific provision, rather than that he should stand in the way of so useful a measure.*(T)

The Bill having passed the Lords, received the royal assent, the 19th of March. It is highly praised by De Foe, who calls it one of the best bills passed by parliament since the *Habeas Corpus* Act. The only clause to which he objected, was that which empowered the commissioners to withhold from the bankrupt his certificate, without assigning a cause for it; a discretion which he considered too important, when viewed in connexion with the dependant situation of the sufferer. A considerable point, however, was gained by the Act, even with respect to the commissioners, whose power was curtailed, and the duration of their proceedings greatly shortened. "If you will now keep your sittings at taverns," says he, "drink Burgundy, and have your fish dinners, and spend from ten to twenty pounds a day, you

* Review, iii. 98—119.

(T) Concerning this affair, De Foe writes thus: "I will not be positive how far this may affect one particular gentleman, who, in respect to himself, I forbear to name, and who has a relation in either House of Parliament; who, as I am informed, pursues this Bill to destroy it, merely as he thinks it will be of service to the author of this paper, against whom he has a legal though no equitable demand. But, as I am credibly informed, he has expressed himself something plainly by the mouth of his said relatives in this case, I humbly make him this offer.—1. That waiving his advantage of law, which was obtained when the author was embroiled in a public disaster, and not able to defend himself, he is ready to come to a hearing in equity of the justice of his debt, and to give him good security to stand by the award: 2. That if his debt be real, which is in itself small, it would be but a weak argument against the Bill, since some to whom he owes thirteen times as much, gave their attendance daily at the House, to declare their willingness to have it pass. And lastly, such is my sincere zeal for the public benefit of this clause, and my just concern for the number of families that will be relieved by it, that I attended at the House of Lords myself, ready to have declared my willingness to be excepted out of it, rather than so necessary a Bill should have been lost for want of my being removed out of the way."—*Review*, iii. 122.

are welcome; for now it must be out of your own pockets. Now, three or four sittings will get in a bankrupt's estate, and the business will be over. Commissions will no more be a standing pension of twenty or thirty pounds a year; which, to some gentlemen that are named perhaps in fifty commissions, was an object of some importance, and enabled them to raise estates by the shipwreck of their neighbours."

When the passing of the Bill had rendered serious argument no longer necessary, De Foe employed one of his *Reviews* in a clever banter upon those who had opposed it from interested motives. Although he avoided personal reflection, yet one of the citizens took up the cause of his brethren, and threatened to cane our author for what he had written upon the subject. A man of De Foe's personal courage was not to be daunted by such an argument. To this hero, he says, "I take the liberty to tell him, he talks more with his tongue than he will attempt with his hands, and that such impertinence deserves no notice till he has put it in practice; for which, on the least hint to the author, he shall never want an opportunity."*

After the rising of parliament, De Foe published his thoughts upon the measure, in a separate pamphlet, intitled, "Remarks on the Bill to prevent frauds committed by bankrupts; with Observations on the Effect it may have upon Trade. London: printed in the year 1706." 4to. pp. 29. Published the 18th of April. This work is an able review of the whole subject, and contains the substance of what had been published in the *Review*. De Foe tells us, that the Bill was so imperfect in its early state; and so oppressive to the unfortunate debtor, that he exerted all his energies, and used what influence he had to procure its amendment; and he congratulates himself upon the success of his exertions. He enters at considerable length into the state of the old law of

* Review, iii. 141, 2.

debtor and creditor, exposes its imperfections, and recapitulates the arguments he had urged for its amelioration; and he concludes his pamphlet by bantering those agents of the law, who subsisted upon the miseries of their countrymen, and were likely to suffer by the new measure.

"There may, for aught I know," says he, "be one public misfortune in this bill, with which I shall close this account, and if possible, propose an equivalent. The mischief I speak of is, to the manufacture of *bumbing* and *bullying*, which will be in great danger of being lost, to the ruin and impoverishing abundance of poor industrious families that are now maintained by their laudable employments. Now, as this can no way be immediately prevented, I cannot think I am able to say any thing more to their consolation, than to propose some equivalent to prevent the entire ruin of so many diligent people, and their dependants: and that this may be effectual, I shall divide it as I have done the people. 1. As to the fraternity of Catchpoles, I propose to them honestly, and for the good of their country, to assemble together, and make a detachment of ten thousand able-bodied men out of their society; a number they can very well spare, and offer their services on board her majesty's fleet, to fight in defence of the kingdom, and make amends for the damage they have done at home, by ruining many thousand honest families they might have saved; and this 'tis plain they may do, and yet leave enough of their trade to execute all the necessary part of the law. 2. As to the *attorneys, solicitors*, &c., they may turn their hands to the more laudable practice of picking pockets, according to the letter of it, and then in time may meet with the reward of their former merit, by a way they have often deserved. All the rest, applying to honest livelihooods, may be pardoned, and live to give God thanks, with the rest of the nation, for the blessing of this Act of Parliament."

Most of De Foe's political enemies approved highly of the part he had taken in this affair, as well as of his general labours upon the subject of trade, to which they were desirous that he would confine himself. An exception to this number, however, was the author of a pamphlet bearing the following title: "Observations on the Bankrupts Bill; occasioned by the many false Misrepresentations, and unjust Reflections, of Mr. Daniel De Foe, in his several Discourses on that Head. Humbly offered to the Consideration of all fair Traders. By a Well-Wisher to Trade and Credit. Lond. 1706." 4to. pp. 43. This is a professed reply, not only to what De Foe had written upon the subject in his *Reviews*, but also to the pamphlet just noticed. The author is angry that the bill should have been diverted from its original design, by the desertion of its first promoters, and its falling into the hands of those who had very different objects to gratify. "This coldness and neglect from more proper hands for carrying on so beneficial a bill," says he, "gave an opportunity to another set of men to make their advantage of it under specious pretences; for it was very evident, although something too late, that this last set of promoters and solicitors for it, were mostly insolvents, as Mr. De Foe, &c., who if they could have set bounds to their desires, and not too projecting, in all probability they might not have had occasion to crave the benefit of such a law." In noticing De Foe's activity in the affair, the writer does not blame his zeal in pushing forward a matter that would be beneficial to his own interests; but he thought it strange that so many citizens of repute should appear so warmly upon the same side, and pretend to represent the whole body of traders. But insolvents had legitimate interests to promote as well as their creditors, and it was honourable to the cause of humanity, that they found so many standing forward to protect them. Amidst some personal reflections, the writer acknowledges

De Foe to be "an able advocate," known to have a great command of words," and an author whose "peculiar talents consist in satyr and scribbling."

Early in the month of April, Dr. Browne, a former antagonist of De Foe, commenced a new periodical paper, omitted in the comprehensive catalogue of Mr. Nichols. It was a half-sheet in quarto, intitled "A Dialogue between Church and No Church: or a Rehearsal of the Review. Containing many necessary Reflections on the State of Affairs, both at Home and Abroad. By Dr. Browne. London: printed by H. Meere, for the author, and sold by B. Bragge, in Paternoster Row. 1706."

In a brief, but pompous introduction, the Doctor declares open war against the author of the *Review*. "Some may think," says he, "there will be need of great strength of argument to support and carry on a design of this nature, against so potent an adversary. However, plain truth and matter of fact shall be the weapon with which I shall fight this great Goliah of Gath: like David against the Philistines, depending upon the justice of my cause, I shall chuse a few smooth stones out of the brook, to smite the brazen forehead of this insulting champion of our Israel; so that some of them may sink deep into his brain, or at least make the triumphing Philistines ashamed to own their giant-boaster, who hath defied the Lord of Hosts."

After this vapouring preface, Dr. Browne proceeds in his first number, to give his own estimate of De Foe's merits as a writer, which of course were small upon those topics in which he happened to differ from him. "To give you my opinion of this author," says he, "and, to do him justice, he writes with a great deal of clearness and perspicuity, when he meddles with business he understands; but when he attempts subjects he neither is, nor can be a supposed master of, he is a mere trifler, one that asks more imper-

tinent questions than a thousand wise men can answer. I acknowledge he has treated the affairs of the nation, in relation to trade and commerce, particularly in his late *Review* about bankrupts, with a great deal of compassion towards the unfortunate, and with many home arguments to such unmerciful creditors, as would treat their debtors worse than Turks use their dogs, though they are not assured but that the same case they are prosecuting with such severity, may be their own in a few days. But then, again, when this author turns critick, casuist, virtuoso, and politician, he is like a man, travelling in a strange country, that has lost his way, and troubles every body he meets, with questions to set him right again. I shall not, therefore, pretend to attack Mr. *Review*, when he keeps himself within the compass of his own sphere; but when he launches into the deeps of religion, politics, philosophy, &c., I shall reclaim him, at least keep him within the bounds of truth and reason, or represent his falsities fairly to the world."

Whatever opinion Dr. Browne entertained of his own capacity to set De Foe right upon those weighty points, he was not willing to trust to it wholly, but looked abroad for additional assistance.(u) Whether this failed him, or he did not meet with the encouragement he expected, his periodical attack upon De Foe, reached to but seven numbers, when it was abandoned. Being under a prosecution by the Secretary of State, he tells us, "that it was rarely any one of them was published, but the copies were presently seized by his order, as containing facts that would be a manifest prejudice to the underhand practices of a great

(u) In the first number appears the following "Advertisement."—"All gentlemen and others, that are willing the misrepresentations of the *Review* should be set in a true light, are desired to communicate what they think may be useful on this head, to the author, his printer or publisher, for the justification of our church and state, which together with the characters of many of our nobility, clergy, and gentry, are basely traduced by this author."

minister, who kept hirelings at work to do his state drudgery."*

Upon Browne's paper, De Foe bestowed some remarks in his *Review* for April 8. "When I began this paper," says he, "I did not expect to go without opposition. But of all the men in the town, I did not expect to be attacked by Dr. Browne, for sundry reasons. 1. I thought he had been fully taken up in bullying the government, lampooning the nobility, affronting my lord-keeper and the Secretary of State; first denying himself to be the author of a paper, and then undertaking to explain it; writing ironies and explaining them ironically, and the like. 2. I thought it had been below him to have concerned himself with so mean and contemptible a thing as the *Review;* much below him who had the honour to write letters, with plain contradictions in them, to ministers of state. 3. Or he might have been employed more significantly in translating Horace, or correcting the false grammar in his specimens, and the like. But finding, to my surprise, that nothing could divert the Doctor, but he will play at this small game, I shall, to gratify him, and make his paper sell, which some wicked people say is the chief design, examine it a little, and with all the decency imaginable; assuring the Doctor, if he pleases to excuse me this time, I shall never after give him any trouble of this sort." He only desires one thing of the Doctor, which is, that he will not descend so far below the character of a gentleman, as to dip his pen in falsehood." If his cause be good, truth will supply matter to defend it; but if not, falsities never will."

During the short existence of Browne's paper, it was wholly devoted to party purposes, and inculcated the most slavish principles in church and state: of this, his defence of ship-money is quite sufficient. One of his favourite projects,

* State Tracts, by the Author of the Examiner.—*Pref.*

was to assess the salaries of Dissenting ministers, under the notion that they are chargeable with the land-tax; and to preserve the appearance of consistency, he would have included the fees of lawyers and physicians in the same impost. Upon this, De Foe observes, "I do not ask Dr. Browne, whether he has paid it or no; because I doubt he may easily pay all that's due upon the fees he gets by his profession; I wish him better luck at scribbling than doctoring, though I doubt he will prove equally a quack in both professions. But I would fain persuade that gentleman to leave the scandalous sin of lying, and not mark his party out for such things, by which he will grow infamous."* It appears from several *Reviews*, that this tax was actually levied in some places upon Dissenting ministers, and that prosecutions were commenced for the recovery of what was so illegally exacted. De Foe, whose eye was constantly upon the proceedings of the party, pursued the subject with sedulous attention. In his *Review* for August 6, there is a long letter upon the subject, from Samuel Wiltshire, a Dissenting minister at Sweffling in Suffolk, upon whom the tax had been levied, and who succeeded in recovering it back again, by a legal process.†

In the Spring of the year, De Foe was attacked by Mr. Sharpe, the curate of Stepney, in a pamphlet bearing the following title: "An Appeal to the clergy of the Church of England, to my Lords the Bishops, humbly beseeching them to move her most sacred majesty to redress their grievances. With some Reflections upon the Presbyterian eloquence of John Tutchin and Daniel De Foe, in their Weekly Observators and Reviews. To which is annexed as a Postscript, The case of the Curate of Stepney, fairly and truly stated and cleared from the vile aspersions of John Tutchin, in

* Review, iii. 187. † Ibid, 374.

Observator, April 13, 1706. Vol. V. Numb. 8. Part 1. By a Presbyter of the Church of England. Lond. 1706." 4to. The Presbyter followed it afterwards by a second part, intitled, "An Appeal of the Clergy, &c. Part II. With some Reflections on the Scandalous Club; authors of the Observator Revived. To which is added, A Defence of the First Part of the Appeal; as also, a Vindication of the Collection for the Episcopal Clergy of Scotland. By J. Sharpe, M. A. Curate of Stepney. Lond. 1708." 4to. Of these missiles, it does not appear that De Foe took any notice.

A victory obtained by the Duke of Marlborough over the French forces, in the spring of this year, brought new inspiration to the muse of De Foe, which found vent in a poem, "On the Fight of Ramillies," and occupied the whole of the *Review*, for the 21st of May. The suddenness of the victory, before it could be imagined that the troops could be brought together, diffused a general feeling of surprise and exultation. De Foe informs the reader, that his poem cost him but three hours in composing. The queen having appointed the 27th of June as a day of thanksgiving, when she went in procession to St. Pauls, our author devoted his *Review* for that day, to another poem upon the subject. The use which he makes of the victory, is honourable to his piety. Without detracting from the merits of the conqueror, he is for ascribing the supreme praise to the God of battles; and he makes satisfactory mention of the Duke's conduct in this particular.

About this time, De Foe had a scheme in contemplation which he intended to lay before the ensuing parliament, for the regulation of mad-houses. It was suggested by a very flagrant case that had recently occurred, of a commission of lunacy having been taken out by the friends of a young lady, for the purpose of plundering her of her property. De Foe,

as censor of public morals, notices the circumstance with indignation, in his *Review* for the eighth of June.

Early in the summer, De Foe wrote a preface to a new edition of a popular work, which had been often printed by the Non-conformists in behalf of their principles. The title was "Delaune's Plea for the Non-conformists: shewing the true state of their case, and how far the Conformists' separation from the Church of Rome for their Popish superstition, &c. introduced into the service of God, justifies the Non-conformists' separation from them. In a Letter to Dr. Benjamin Calamy, on his sermon called, *Scrupulous Consciences*, inviting hereto. To which is added, A Parallel Scheme of the Pagan, Papal, and Christian Rites and Ceremonies. With a Narrative of the Sufferings he underwent for writing, printing, and publishing hereof. By THOMAS DELAUNE, who died in Newgate during his imprisonment for this book. Printed twenty years ago; but being seized by the Messenger of the Press, was afterwards burnt by the hangman: And now reprinted from the author's original copy. *With a Preface by the author of the* REVIEW. London: printed and sold by William and Joseph Marshall, at the Bible, in Newgate Street, 1706." 4to. pp. 66. Pref. xi. De Foe's object in reviving the work at this time, was "to let the world see the necessity of toleration, the mischief of persecution, and that there are better reasons to be given for the Dissenters differing from the Church of England, than some people imagine."

The work owed its origin to an attack upon the Non-conformists, by Dr. Benjamin Calamy, in a sermon preached in 1683, at Aldermanbury, and repeated at Bow-Church, in which he defended the cause of Conformity with some warmth, and assailed its opponents in terms of severity. The Doctor afterwards printed his sermon, with a fulsome dedication to

his patron, Judge Jeffries, and some curious concessions to the *scrupulous*, who do not go *certain lengths;* a mode of arguing always employed by the intolerant. Delaune, who was a schoolmaster amongst the Baptists, considering this a public challenge, thought fit to accept it, and argued the case closely, fairly, and with temper. But he lived at a time when it was not convenient to hear both sides of a question; and the strongest party answered him by a warrant for his apprehension Upon the 29th of November, 1683, he was committed to Wood-Street Compter, and the following day transferred to Newgate. Opon the 17th of January, he was brought from thence to the Old Bailey, to take his trial before Sir George Jeffries; and being convicted of writing a libel, was fined a hundred marks, and ordered to find security for one year; his book was at the same time condemned to be burnt before the Royal Exchange. Unable to pay his fine, he lingered in jail about fifteen months, amidst privations and sufferings of various kinds, when he was released by death.

De Foe observes, in his preface, that "When arguments drive the opponents into passions and excesses, 'tis a proof of their operation; like strong purges, that cause griping pains in the bowels of the patient. To answer sober arguments with sour coercives, to dispute by the gaol and the hangman, to debate by the prison, and not by the pen, have been the practice of the party; and the power of persecution, not of persuasion, has been the way of their usage to the Dissenters. The treatment the learned author of this work met with, will for ever stand as a monument of the cruelty of those times; and they that affirm the Dissenters were never persecuted in England for their religion, will do well to tell us what name we shall give to the usage of this man of merit, than whom few greater scholars, clearer heads, or greater masters of argument, ever graced the English nation. I am sorry to say, he is one of near eight thousand Pro-

testant Dissenters who perished in prison, in the days of that merciful prince, King Charles the Second; and that merely for dissenting from the church in points which they could give such reasons for as this plea assigns; and for no other cause were stifled, I had almost said murthered, in gaols for their religion. His fellow-prisoner, Mr. Jenkyn, most humbly petitioned, on the mere account of sickness, to be removed to some other place for air, upon unquestioned securities of being surrendered again to any prison that should be appointed, and could not obtain that common compassion from the mercy of that *unpersecuting* age, but died under the cruel hands of these persecutors, merely by stench and contagion of an unwholesome confinement. (x) Let those gentlemen that have been forward to threaten us with long accounts of parliamentary persecutions in the time of the civil wars, remember they cannot show, neither then, nor in any former time—no, not if they throw in the days of Queen Mary, any thing like such a number of Christians, *for I must not call them martyrs*, that suffered for their religion. From whence I have often recommended it to them, to forbear putting us upon comparing the accounts, and entering into the melancholy detail of particulars."

Delaune having been censured for embroiling himself in

(x) William Jenkyn, an eminent Presbyterian divine, was ejected in 1662, from the living of Christ Church, Newgate-street. In the time of the Commonwealth, he had been concerned in a plot to forward the interests of Prince Charles, for which Christopher Love, and another of the plotters, suffered death. Jenkyn was pardoned upon his submission; but his unsuccessful services upon this occasion stood him in no stead, after the ungrateful monarch mounted the throne. Upon a petition for some relaxation in his confinement, backed by a certificate from his physician, the unfeeling prince replied, "Jenkyn shall be a prisoner as long as he lives." This was strictly verified, for he died in Newgate, Jan, 19, 1685, at the age of seventy-two. His funeral, in Bunhill-fields, is said to have been attended by 150 coaches; and mourning-rings were given by his daughter upon the occasion, with the following motto:—"Mr. William Jenkyn, murdered in Newgate."—*Calamy's Acc. and Contin.*

the controversy, De Foe enters upon his defence; observing, that it was a common allegation against those who exposed themselves to ruin for the service of their country. "Had Dr. Calamy's challenge passed unanswered," says he, "what arguments for persecution had been put into the mouths of their enemies? And how rational would it have been to have argued that their dissenting was from mere obstinacy, and a pertinacious adherence to notions they could not defend." The great artifice of those times, was to bring the persecution of Dissenters to appear necessary, and to expose them as a people dangerous to the state, as well as the church: and nothing could have gone farther towards making this easy and plain to the vulgar, than to have the Dissenters silenced in argument. This was sufficient to clear up the necessity of entering the lists with this new invader, who had indicted all the Dissenters of contumacy, obstinacy, ignorance, and ungrounded prejudice. If it was not a season to appear, when should be the proper juncture? When should the champions of religion defend her, but when they find the foundation struck at?" De Foe further illustrates the necessity of the undertaking, by the check that it gave for a time to the boasts and insults of the church-party.

An attempt has been made by Dr. Calamy's biographers, to exonerate him from any unfair dealing in this business; whilst De Foe says, he can frame no excuse, either from reason, honour, or any thing else, to defend him. The Doctor certainly provoked the controversy; for he says, in his sermon, "Could we prevail with the people diligently to examine the merits of the cause, our church would every day gain more ground amongst all wise men." This was a fair challenge; and being accepted, says De Foe, "How could he suffer the person to be treated in such a manner, and persecuted with all imaginable violence, that had answered him so modestly, so like a gentleman, and so like a scholar.

It may be said, the Doctor could not avoid it: but this is certain, that he was so far from attempting his relief, that he used him with all the slight and neglect possible; and yet, at the same time, confessed, by his silence, that he could not answer his argument. It certainly became Dr. Calamy to have interceded with the government on his behalf, and to have obtained fair law for his adversary; to have pleaded with his majesty that he had challenged the Dissenters to examine the merits of the cause, that he did not doubt but the church would every day gain ground amongst all wise men, if the merits of the cause were fully examined, and therefore he advised his adversary might be left free, or as they say, *a clear stage, and no favour*. This had been doing his duty as an aggressor in the quarrel, and have shown that he was a gentleman as well as a fair adversary, a Christian as well as a scholar. But instead of this, how barbarously he was treated by the government, how neglected, and his frequent applications to Dr. Calamy received with contempt, will appear in the close of this book, to the eternal reproach both of the Doctor and of his argument." De Foe here refers to "A Narrative of the sufferings of Thomas Delaune," printed at the close of his Plea. He continues, "The knocking-down arguments of a gaol and fine, *ultra tenementum*, which were used in those arbitrary times, were but the sure refuge of a cause by no other arguments to be defended; and had it been true that the church, as Dr. Calamy says, would, by examining the merits of the cause, every day gain ground amongst all wise men, why did not the Doctor join issue with Mr. Delaune, in going on with its merits, as he had in this book fairly begun. I think 'tis needless to repeat the most just inference: 'tis plain to me, the prevailing power of argument laid down in this book, showed itself in evidences too strong to be denied; viz., in silence as to matters in dispute, and in furious revenge on the author."

De Foe concludes his preface, by giving some particulars of the author, which he could not relate himself. "The expensive prosecution depriving him of his livelihood, which was a grammar-school, and long imprisonment, had made him not only unable to pay his fine, but to subsist himself and family, he continued in close confinement in the prison of Newgate, about fifteen months, and suffered there great hardships by extreme poverty; being so entirely reduced by this disaster, that he had no subsistence but what was contributed by such friends as came to visit him. His behaviour in this distress, was like the greatness of mind he discovered at his trial; and the same spirit which appears in his writings, appeared in his conversation, and supported him with invincible patience under the greatest extremities: but long confinement, and distresses of various kinds, at last conquered him. He had a wife and two small children, all with him in the prison, for they had no subsistence elsewhere. The closeness and inconveniencies of the place first affected them; and all three, by lingering sorrows and sickness, died in the prison, worn out with trouble, hopeless of relief, and too much abandoned by those who should have taken some other care of him. I cannot refrain saying, such a champion of such a cause deserved better usage, and it was very hard he should starve in a dungeon, and the whole body of Dissenters in England, whose cause he died for defending, should not raise him £66. 13*s*. 4*d*. to save his life." De Foe modestly concludes, "'Tis pity after his death he has no better hand to recommend him to the world; but since no man will build a monument upon his grave, I thought it a debt due to his ill-rewarded merit, to write this as a monument upon his work, and I am sorry it is performed so better. D. Foe."

The publication of this work brought upon our author a host of enemies, who accused him of exposing the church, by recounting her former ill-treatment of the Dissenters.

To this, he replies in his *Review* for July 4, "That the Dissenters were persecuted, plundered and murthered in gaol, there is no room to deny. To say, it was not for their religion, because they might meet five in a place, is a most miserable shift, and merits no answer. Assembling themselves together, which the Scripture commands them not to forsake, can never be understood to signify five in a place; a pretty sort of liberty indeed! For obeying this command of God rather than man, they were persecuted, fined, jailed, plundered, and murthered; and this I call persecution for religion, let others call it what they please. I forbear entering into the list of the 8000 I mentioned, which is not hard to procure, if Mr. White be inquired of; but I bury the memory of it in silence, as the law has buried the practice in a legal toleration. There are some gentlemen, indeed, who appear angry at this, and would account it a sufficient toleration to have the Dissenters gratified with that wonderful liberty of meeting five at a time." Those who supposed that this complaint of persecution was an arrow shot at the church, he observes, "did both him and the church great wrong; for he always considered it a state-plot, invented for the purpose of embroiling the two parties, although too many of the clergy and other persons fell in with it. Those who brought the charge against him, therefore, really attacked the church themselves; the general body being far from accountable for all the actions of those who call themselves members of her communion."*

These strictures were in reply to Leslie, who had devoted three of his "Rehearsals" to the subject. In these, he extols the clemency of King Charles's reign, contending that the Dissenters did not suffer for their religion; and he refers to one of his former numbers for an answer to Delaune's book. He there invokes the candid judgment of

* Review, iii. 317, 18.

De Foe, in the following words: "I doubt not your capacity to judge and determine right in this affair, because you have shown it sufficiently in what you have wrote with a strong judgment and quick apprehension, against Occasional Conformity. None did it shorter, and more pungently, than yourself." Gratified, as he may have been, by this compliment, he was unconvinced by the arguments of Leslie, detects his sophistry, and opposes his mis-statements by an appeal to facts.

It does not appear that "Delaune's Plea" met with any regular reply before the year 1710, when it was attacked by a recent convert from the Dissenters, who addresses much of his bulky pamphlet to De Foe. It is intitled, "Dissenters self-condemned: being a full Answer to Mr. De Laune's Plea for the Non-conformists, lately recommended by Mr. Daniel Foe, author of the *Review*. Wherein their main principle (that nothing is lawful in the worship of God, but what he hath expressly commanded) is not only examined and disproved, but made appear to be repugnant to their own opinions and stated practices. And all their Objections and Cavils against the Church's Power in Decreeing and Enjoining her decent Rites and Ceremonies, are effectually answered. To which is added, 'The Dissenters' Harmony in Principles with the Papists. With a Letter prefixed to Mr. Daniel Foe. By William Robertson, M. A. lately a Dissenting Preacher. London: printed for John Morphew, near Stationers'-hall, 1710. Price 2s. 6d." 4to. pp. 144. Pref. &c. x. The letter to De Foe, is couched in friendly terms; and the writer, abstaining from opprobrious language, preserves his temper throughout the performance. Arguing like a fair disputant, he confines himself to the points in debate, and has no wish to disturb the Toleration, nor in any way to molest the Dissenters. "I solemnly declare," says he, "that I am in charity with all mankind, and particularly with yourself. I oppose not the persons of any, but

their principles;" to which it appears he had been challenged by some Dissenters, to justify his own conformity. Addressing De Foe, he says, "If either you who have adopted the *Plea*, or any other Dissenter, has a mind further to examine the merits of the cause, and to attempt by downright arguing from Scripture and reason, to defend that *Plea*, I promise to attend to his performance, in order to your happy reduction. As for yourself, Sir, I know that you, if any, are able to improve Delaune's arguments in the most polite, decent, and pungent way, that such gross errors are capable of. I know no successor abler than yourself, to effect what, as the following sheets do demonstrate, Delaune has not finished." After observing, that he had sent a copy of the work to his printer for him, he subscribes himself his "unfeigned friend and humble servant." So candid an adversary, if answered at all, was entitled to courteous treatment; but it does not appear that De Foe took any notice of his work.

CHAPTER XX.

De Foe's Attack upon the Play-houses.—Singular Occasion of it.—His Sermon at the Fitting-up of Daniel Burgess's Meeting-House.—Some Anonymous Remarks upon it.—De Foe's further Account of it.—His Satire upon the Players.—And upon the Authors of the Project.—The Players at Oxford.—De Foe Remonstrates with the University.—The Players foiled at Cambridge.—Curious Picture of Solomon.—De Foe Publishes "Jure Divino."—Occasion of its Delay.—Fanciful Dedication.—His Account of the Work.—Exposition of his Politics.—Character of the Poem.—Lampoon upon it.—Partially revived.—"The Coffee-house Preachers."—Occasion of the Work.—De Foe Surrenders to the Commissioners.—Revival of his Troubles.—His own Account of them.

1706.

At the approach of Midsummer, De Foe published a *jeu d' esprit*, which occasioned some talk at the time, and brought upon him the indignation of Leslie, and other high churchmen. The occasion of it was this: upon the 18th of June, a benefit was given at the Theatre-royal in Drury-Lane, towards defraying the expence of repairing a meeting-house in Russell-Court, lately occupied by Mr. Daniel Burgess. (Y) Upon the expiration of the lease, the landlord,

(Y) Of this eccentric divine, who, with all his peculiarities, appears to have been a very useful preacher, De Foe has recorded the following anecdote. "A certain lady of quality, and abundance of wit, having heard a great many bantering stories of him, according to the world's custom of treating that gentleman, resolved to borrow a Sunday, as she called it, to make herself merry, and she would go and hear Dr. Burgess; and invited her company to come the next day to hear her report. They accordingly

who was an enemy to Dissenters, dispossessed them at the instigation of Dr. Lancaster, vicar of St. Martin's, who persuaded the parish to purchase the building, and fit it up as a chapel of ease. The circumstance of accepting a playhouse benefit for the repairs of a church, was in itself ludicrous; and the more so at a time when our scenic exhibitions were not of the most moral character.

Upon this occasion, De Foe employed the powerful artillery of wit and ridicule, to point out the impropriety of identifying the interests of the church and the playhouse; and he insinuates, that it must be a trick of the actors to bring over the clergy to their interests, and silence those preachers and writers who were most actively engaged in the good work of promoting a reformation of manners. As the vicar of St. Martin's was a high-churchman, our author makes it a vehicle for satirizing the men of his party. The broadside he now levelled at them, is a piece of exquisite humour, and afforded so much amusement to the town, that it no sooner appeared in the *Review*, than it was re-printed and hawked about the streets, under the title of "A Sermon preached by Mr. Daniel De Foe, on the fitting up of Dr. Burgess's late meeting-house. Taken from his *Review*, of Thursday, the 20th of June, 1706." A copy of it will amuse the reader.

"Well, gentlemen! in the midst of all our foreign news, and the glorious things done for England abroad, what if

came, and the relator hereof with the rest; when, contrary to all expectation, the lady, full of concern, and touched with the folly of her conduct, told them, she was far from thinking him a man to be bantered, that she would not for ten thousand pounds but have heard him preach that sermon; that she heard what convinced her she had been a fool all her days; and she hoped he had taught her to be wiser.' She advised the company, never to despise the worship of God, in whatsoever Christian manner performed; and declared the Doctor to be the most abused man alive.—*Review*, i. 311, 12.

we should divert you with a little home news for a while, till more towns and countries fall into our hands, to renew our public rejoicings. We have been told by some people, that the victories of the Duke of Marlborough are good news for the nation, but bad news for the church. Now, I'll tell you a little news that is good for the church. As for my text, you shall find it written in the first column on the second side of the daily *Courant*, for June 18th, 1706.

"*Towards the defraying the charge of repairing and fitting up the Chapel, in Russell-Court, at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane, this present Tuesday, being the* 18*th of June, will be presented the tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark, with Singing, by Mr. Hughes, &c., and entertainment of Dancing, by Monsieur Cherrier, Miss Stantlow, his scholar, and Mr. Evans. Boxes,* 5*s. Pit,* 3*s. First Gallery,* 2*s. Upper Gallery,* 1*s.*

"From whence I offer this observation to the serious thoughts of those gentlemen, who are apprehensive of the church's danger, viz.: If the Devil be come over to us, and assists to support the church, the Devil must be in it, if the church be in danger. And here, gentlemen, let us make a few remarks upon this worthy subject. Certainly, you gentlemen of the high-church, show very little respect to the church, and cannot be such friends to its establishment as you pretend to be, since, though you have the house built to your hands, (for this chapel was before a dissenting meeting house,) yet you must go a begging to the play-house to carry on the work. Or is this a general banter upon the church, that people must be invited to go the brink of the gulph, by the religious argument of his being for the church; as if the lady, that now gives five shillings towards the repairing the church, would not contribute the money, unless she could see a play into the bargain. Or, on the other hand, as if there were not farce enough acted upon that stage, the pulpit, but the hearers must be sent to the theatre to make it up.

Some guess rather this may be a religious wheedle to form an excuse for the ladies, and justify their so frequent visits to the theatre; since the money being thus disposed of, they gratify their vanity and fancy, they show their piety, please their vice, and smuggle their consciences; something like that old zeal, of *robbing orphans, to build alms-houses.*

"Hard times, gentlemen, hard times indeed, these are with the church, to send her to the play-house to gather pew-money. For shame, gentlemen, go to the church, and pay your money there, and never let the play-house have such a claim to its establishment, as to say, the church is beholden to her. *Sic Tempora Mutantur!* Times are finely changed. In the late reigns, the church built the play-houses; and now the play-house builds the church; from whence, I cannot but prophecy, that the time will come, either the church will pull down the play-house, or the play-house will pull down the church.

"Now, Mr. Leslie, have at the Dissenters; for if they do not come to this play, they are certainly enemies to the church; put their negative upon repairing and fitting up the church, which, by Mr. Leslie's usual logic, may easily be proved to be pulling down the church. Now, Mr. Collier, you are quite aground, and all your sarcasms upon the play-house, all your satires upon the stage, are as so many arrows shot at the church; for every convert of your making, every one you have been the means of keeping from the play-house, has so far lessened the church stock, and tended to let the church fall upon our heads. Never talk of the stage any more, for if the church cannot be repaired nor fitted up without the play-house, to write against the play-house, is to write against the church; to discourage the play-house, is to weaken the church; and you rob the church of the people's bounty, which is one of the worst sorts of sacrilege.

"Nor is it unworthy our remark, to see how all hands aloft are zealous in their calling for the church; can our

church be in danger? how is it possible? The whole nation is solicitous, and at work, for her safety and prosperity. The parliament address; the queen consults; the ministry execute; the army fights; and all for the church! But at home we have other heroes that act for the church. Peggy Hughes sings; Monsieur Ramadon plays; Miss Santlow dances; Monsieur Cherrier teaches; and all for the church! Here's heavenly doings! Here's harmony! Your singing Psalms is hurdy-gurdy to this music; and all your preaching actors are fools to these. Besides, there's another sort of music here; the case is altered, the clergy preach and read here, &c., and get money for it of the church. But these sing, and dance, and act, and talk bawdy, and the church gets money by the bargain; there's the music of it!

"But to talk more serious. Pray let us put things a little upon the square; the great law of retaliation comes in here; and, as the play-house owes its original and advancement to our late champions of high-church, they can do no less than reverence their founders, and relieve them in the present straitness of their circumstances. And again, in their turn; suppose the play-house should be burnt down, as it once was, the church could not deny to read a brief in every parish for the rebuilding it, with a *pray remember the great loss by fire!* But pray let us enquire here, how comes the chapel in Russell-Court to stand in such ill circumstances, that the play-house must be called upon for this odd and most unusual charity; some horrible scandal must lie somewhere. 'Tis plain, the chapel was Mr. Daniel Burgess's meeting-house before, and as the auditory is large, the persons concerned numerous and able, whence comes this deficiency? It must be from want of sense of the convenience, or want of regard to the church: 'tis a most scandalous contempt of the church. What, send her a begging to the play-house! Of all the churches in the

world, I believe none was ever served thus before. What a reproach is this to the neighbourhood of Russell-Court chapel! What, gentlemen, nobody to repair the church for you, but those that are every day reproved in it! must the play-house boxes build your pews, the play-house pit raise your gallery? This is the ready way to have the people call them both play-houses, and that though they have different places to officiate in, they are but the same congregation.

"Charity would fain crowd in here, and say in behalf of this action, that the play-house is reformed, and that it goes hand in hand with the church, and is a true friend to it, as now appears. I do not know, I confess, but that the play-house may in some things conform to the church, but I hope the church does in nothing go hand in hand with the play-house. Well, 'tis very unhappy that no manner of contribution could have been raised but this, for the building a church; 'tis like the Italians laying a tax upon their bawdy-houses. In short, this contribution is but a civil taking out a licence for play-houses, and they may now claim fairly a liberty, and tax you with ingratitude, if you refuse them.

"It would be worth inquiry now, how the play fills. The players are very familiar with their Maker, here, methinks, and religion comes in, like the poet, for a third day. Now 'tis observable, that the respect to the poet is shown by the crowds on the poet's day; if there be a full house then, 'tis a signal of his reputation, and tells the world what a value they put upon his performance. The 18th of June is the church's third day at the play. Now, gentlemen, we shall see what reputation religion has among our play-hunters, and whether they value her above common poets, or no? I am afraid religion and the church will have but a poor day of it: on the other hand, there will be room for strange distinctions. First,

here you will see who are the best churchmen, high or low; for are the players high church, as most allow, if they are of any church at all; then a thin, or full house, determines who are the best friends to the church. But then, here is another misfortune, and I would have the ladies very careful how they brand themselves with the scandal of it. They that go to this play for the sake of the church, certainly never go to the church; if they did, they might find ways to give their money into better hands. In short, the observations on this most preposterous piece of church-work are so many, that they cannot come into the compass of this paper. But, if the money raised here, be employed to re-edify this chapel; I would have it, as frequent in like cases, written over the door in capital letters.

"THIS CHURCH WAS RE-EDIFIED, ANNO, 1706, AT THE EXPENSE, AND BY THE CHARITABLE CONTRIBUTIONS, OF THE ENEMIES OF THE REFORMATION OF OUR MORALS, AND TO THE ETERNAL SCANDAL AND MOST JUST REPROACH OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, AND THE PROTESTANT RELIGION.

"Witness our hands,

LUCIFER, PRINCE OF DARKNESS,
AND
HAMLET, PRINCE OF DENMARK. } Churchwardens."

De Foe's wit, as might be expected, aroused the tumultuary passions of his opponents; which received vent from the press. Soon after the publication of his satire, there appeared, some "Remarks on the *Review*, Numb. 74, concerning the new Chapel, in Russell-Court, Covent-Garden. London: printed and sold by B. Bragg, at the Raven, in Paternoster Row, 1706." 4to. The writer, who was, perhaps, an inhabitant of the parish, approved of this scheme for obtaining money, and gives the following statement of the case:

"That part of St. Martin's parish which is about Russell-Court, besides the fulness of the church, was so remote, that, except they went to St. Clements, or Covent-Garden, they scarce ever could have an opportunity of serving God in publick. Upon Mr. Burgess's leaving his meeting-house, Mr. Child, with some more of the inhabitants, took it to make a chapel of ease. It was very old and incommodious, so that the repairing it and fitting it up cost £600. This could not immediately be raised by the pew-money, or what was subscribed; therefore, they went about for a voluntary collection from the inhabitants of the parish. The play-house occupying a part of the adjacent ground, Mr. Rich was applied to, but it being without the boundaries of the parish, they could not compel him; and as he was only one of the patentees, he could not give out of the stock, without the concurrence of the rest. The players were too poor to give, and might be too profane to regard church-work; so that there was no way but to give one day's acting." The writer does not blame the managers for putting the church into a play-bill, thinking it a passport to public favour; but many had a different opinion of it, and the gross indecency of the thing drew forth the severe animadversions of all parties.

De Foe, thinking no better of the project, after all that was said for it, made some further observations in his *Review*, for June 25. He says, "Since the world has been pleased to mob my last *Review*, upon the subject about the sheets, under the title of my *Sermon*, they may, if they please, call this my recantation-sermon, or any thing else. In short, I do find a most unjust reflection is raised upon the honest inhabitants of the large parish of St. Martin's in the Fields, as if they were not able, or which is much worse, not willing, to contribute to the re-edifying of an old meeting-house, to make a church of it. And to clear them of this scandal, another unhappy truth, they say, is coming to light, viz.—That a general collection was made for this purpose, and

that her majesty was pleased to give £100 towards it; which Dr. Lancaster related to the people for their encouragement. After this, the curate went about the parish from house to house, collecting the voluntary gifts of the people, some of whom contributed largely to the work; and how all this should not be sufficient to pay £650, which we are informed was the utmost charge, is very hard to conceive, and what nobody inclines to believe. It being then more than probable that money enough was collected, or easily might be so for this affair, the inhabitants of the parish must stand clear of the reproach of thus setting the church to raise contributions upon the play-house."

De Foe next turns his satire upon the players. "It is not fair, they say, to laugh twice at one jest; but who can help it? Pray, let us examine the circumstances a little, and see whether this is not really a banter upon the play-houses too; that they should pretend to contribute to the necessities of the church, and cannot keep their own edifices in repair? If the play-house is addicted to acts of charity, why do they not maintain their own poor? Why not raise a pension for their poor brethren at the Haymarket? Or, which would be something to their honour, make good the subscriptions that are yet unpaid, and discharge the debt to the poor workmen who built the house? This play-house charity is set with the bottom upward; like a famous dignified gentleman in England, who ran in debt to honest men, to give alms to knaves. Perhaps it may be said, the actors are not a corporation, and have nothing to do with each other, unless it be to help one to starve the other. Well, but gentlemen, though you are not a corporation, you are a fraternity; and, as the devil's broker said to Dr. Griffith, you are all of a trade, you are all the devil's brokers, and you ought in common prudence, and to support the honour of the employment, to have relieved your brethren first, and have cleared the prisons of some of the

best of them. Besides, I am at a loss for the coherence of the thing;—the play-house and the church! There's no manner of philosophy in it; 'tis yoking the poles, 'tis saying the Christ-cross-row backward, and nobody can tell whether it be to raise the devil or to lay him. There could not have been such a circle full of angles put together again; and all the men of wit, either in God's church, or the Devil's chapel, could not have composed such another piece of discord.

"Some people," continues De Foe, "have been rummaging their heads for the design of it, which they say must be something extraordinary; yet I can see no need for so wild a guess. He that shot this gun, took aim, no doubt; and what did he aim at, think you? Why, the *money*, man! What should he aim at? And, whoever he was, whether actor or churchwarden, or a rump of both formed into a junto for this weighty affair, my life for yours, the *money* was the matter. The players, I allow, had the best prospect of the two; of which, without doubt, they had a forethought: As first, a full house, and an united benefit; and secondly, a snack with the club: And there's private interest, a new reputation for loyalty to the church, and a screen from justice; because one good turn deserves another.

"Again, some say, this is a low-church plot upon the high-church play-house; and a pretty banter this makes, indeed! For, the Haymarket building, they say, is a low-church play-house, and Drury-Lane a high-church play-house. Two things are concluded from hence. 1. That the high gentlemen are the best friends to the church; for, when did ever the low-church players offer to give the church a play at their house? 'Tis really very kindly done, and their care of the church is so remarkable as to merit being recorded. 2. It necessarily follows, that the church is very much beholden to the play-house, that they will give away their profits to its assistance.

"We talk of reforming our manners, and setting up rules of government; but to attempt it this way, seems to me to make a comedy of the government, and a tragedy of the church. How odd a sight would it be to see this farce acted upon our stage, and how strange would it be to see bills put up thus: *At the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane, this present Thursday, being the 27th of June, will be acted a new play, intitled,* THE CHURCH, *a Tragedy.* This, I think, is certain, let the play be what it will; 'tis a tragedy to the church, and one of the Shortest Ways to pull her down. What horrid work is here made of religion! The sacred mask has been a diguise to many hypocrites, but never was put upon the face of the play-house before. I cannot deny it to be a very quaint invention to persuade people, and a cunning way to fill the house, That they may go to the play for God's sake! Our children would now have a fair excuse to us, when we refuse them leave to go to the play: Why, Sir, 'tis for the benefit of the church; for our money is to be given to build up the church. Excellent excuse, child! I should say: so you must lay out your money with the devil, that he may build up a house for God with it: sacrifice to vanity for the encouragement of piety. Rare work, indeed!"

No one who reads the foregoing pages, can doubt for a moment, that De Foe was a decided master of ridicule; and that however his adversaries might affect to despise him, they were as little able to endure his wit, as to cope with his arguments. Fortunately for his reputation, he always wielded this dangerous weapon in the service of religion or liberty; and those who smarted under its thrusts, were the enemies either of the one or of the other. De Foe knew well its power, and found that it told in a multiplied proportion beyond the abusive taunts and low scurrility of his mortified opponents.

An incident that happened this summer, furnished De Foe

with an occasion to renew his attack upon the players, or rather upon those who encouraged them. Early in the month of August, a company from London paid a visit to Oxford, and was licensed by the Vice-chancellor to act plays in that city. A measure so fruitful in bad consequences to young men engaged in their studies, awakened the indignation of De Foe, who brought strong reasons to support an argument that was dictated by good sense. "That our two great and famous Universities are remarkable for learning, as well as for the number and capacity of their men of letters," says he, "I readily allow: what a pity it is then, that they should not equally flourish in virtue, and how mad must they be who would sacrifice the reputation of their whole body, to the pleasure and follies of an interlude! The matter, in short, is, as I am informed, that a set of players of both companies, than whom I need not describe greater patterns of vice, and among them several who now stand indicted for blasphemy and profaneness, are gone down to the University of Oxford, to assist in the accomplishing, *anglicè* debauching, the morals of the sons of our chief families, and the young generation of the nation's instructors. Blush, ye governors of houses, heads of colleges, and ruling members of the University, when you shall read over your own rules and regulations for the government of your body, and at the same time are guilty of at least permitting those engines of the devil, who prompt the vanity of our youth, to be set openly to work before your faces, and within your jurisdiction!

"For God's sake, gentlemen, look back upon the gift of your pious founders, who built and so plentifully endowed the several colleges and houses that form your University. How often do the preambles of their gifts run in these words. "For the honour of God, the encouragement of learning, the increase of virtue, piety, and true religion, I give and grant, &c." Pray, gentlemen, which of all these

ends of the founders do these comedians answer? With what face can an English clergyman suffer the habits and vestments of a Christian priest, to be seen in the lewd crowd of the admirers of vice! How can ye, gentlemen of the gown, preach against vice, and cry down the immoralities of the age! How can you bear testimony for God, and vindicate the church as the bulwark of religion, while you are seen every day encouraging the interludes, and vile representations of the stage! Can you bear without indignation, to sit and hear the intolerable scoffs at religion, and the ridicule put upon your function? With what patience can you bear to see modesty tossed in a blanket, nature itself worried to death, magistracy hissed out of the world, looseness adorning the hero, and virtue clothed with contempt? Some of the worst of these things are to be seen in *The Spanish Friar*, *The Recruiting Officer*, and other plays already acted before you.

"Nor is it unworthy your consideration, how low these things make you in the esteem of the wise and virtuous. What reverence for your doctrine, or respect for your person, can you expect from the auditory that attends upon your ministry? How can the loose strumpet tremble at the judgment of God, denounced against her sins by the tongue of her minister, when she saw the same serious countenance that now reproves her, deformed with the smiles of pleasure, at the vicious banter of a lewd representation in a b——y play? Shall that hand, extended in laying out her crimes, carry any awe with it, which the day before was lifted up to applaud the vile performance of those sons of hell? Pardon me if I say, you cannot but lessen the esteem the world has of your virtue, whatever it has of your learning."*

It appears from a subsequent *Review*, that an attempt was made to introduce the players at Cambridge, but without success. De Foe notices the circumstance with commenda-

* Review, iii. 377—9.

tion. "Here the players have several times attempted to erect the devil's chapel, and set up under pretence of a superior licence; which insolence the late Vice-chancellor rewarded, by committing Dogget, the player, to gaol, as he deserved, and ordering the booth built for the theatre to be demolished. How much more to the honour of that University was this, than to see the Vice-chancellor of Oxford, with the heads of houses, in their formalities, going in procession, followed by the students, inhabitants, and ladies, to the play-house? (z) It reminds me of a picture I once saw of King Solomon, with all his court, and a train of foreign wives, *anglicè* mistresses, having turned his back upon the Temple, the house of God, of his own building, and going in procession to offer sacrifice to the devil."* It seems that the players made an attempt, in the following summer, to renew their exhibitions at Oxford, but then met with a repulse.† It is not improbable that De Foe's salutary admonitions may have had some effect in producing the change.

Our author followed up his remarks upon stage-plays, and his exhortations to the clergy who visit them, with an apology for the players, and remonstrances to the frequenters of play-houses in general; concluding with a word of advice to the critics, who alone have the power to reform the stage, and free it from the odium which it had so justly excited. Whilst many of his remarks cannot but be admired for their acuteness, the correctness of his views will be admitted by all who set any value upon the interests of virtue.

De Foe had been long meditating a work of considerable extent, which should embody his notions upon government, in a poetical dress. It was announced as early as September,

(z) The same farce was acted here as in London, the players having given a benefit for the repair of the chapel at Oxford, which produced 50*l*. Upon this, as upon the former occasion, the church and the players were to divide the profits!

* Review, iii. 383. † Ibid, iv. 397.

1704, and was to be published by subscription, one quarter to be paid down, to assist the author in defraying its expences.(A) The length of time it was preparing, made some of his subscribers clamorous, and furnished occasion for malicious reports. To these he replies, "That it is never to come out, time and Providence must determine, for who can answer for events? And if the author is murthered before it be printed, as he is often threatened to be, perhaps that part may be true. But, that he does not design to print it, and only formed the subscription as a cheat, to get the money in hand, is a hard suggestion, absurd in itself, false, and merely malicious."* He had been persuaded by his friends not to publish it during the sitting of the last parliament, "measures having been taken, and the party then powerful enough, to blast it in its birth, seize it in the press, and suppress both it and the author together, by the heavy weight of a parliamentary censure. And this laid it asleep a year." His absence from town, during four months of the last summer, occasioned another interruption; but upon his return in October, it was put to press.

In the *Review* for July 18, his "*Jure Divino*" is announced for publication upon the following Saturday; and in the same paper is an advertisement, warning the public against a pirated edition, of which notice had been given. In his number for the 27th of July, he announces the actual publication of the spurious work; (B) and in that for August 3,

(A) "The whole will be near a hundred sheets in folio, with large annotations, printed on the finest paper. No more to be printed than are subscribed for. The price to be ten shillings: half-a-crown only to be paid down; the remainder on delivery. Subscriptions are taken in at the following places." Several coffee-houses and booksellers are then named. —*Review*, i. 251.

* Review, iii. 11.

(B) "Whereas, a spurious edition of '*Jure Divino*,' is in a base and villanous manner published in octavo, and to be sold for 5*s*. To prevent people being imposed upon, these are to give notice, the pyraters for shame

he again advertises it, with a proper exposure of the imposition. (c) The genuine work bears the following title: "Jure Divino: A Satyr. In Twelve Books. By the author of 'The True-Born Englishman.' London: printed in the year 1706." Folio. pp. 346. Pref. xxviii. The author adopts the following motto from Juvenal: *O Sanctas Gentes, quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis Numina.* A portrait of De Foe, varying considerably from that prefixed to his works, accompanies the volume. Instead of his name, it has the appropriate motto from Juvenal: *Laudatur et Alget.* It is engraved by Vandergucht, and represents him in the costume of the times, but without the severity of countenance that distinguishes his former portrait. There is also a print of him before the spurious edition, but it is badly executed, and without the engraver's name.

if they have any power to blush, will speedily call them all in again, and not pick the pockets of the buyer, as they have done of the author. The said book being printed in so barbarous a manner, so false, so ridiculously imperfect, and so full of mistakes, that the sense of the author is perfectly inverted, the annotations unfounded, the whole design altered, and the understanding of it rendered impossible. And to make good this, the author undertakes at any time to produce near one hundred notorious errors in one half sheet of the book. The picture put in the book, which is but the copy of a copy, is about as much like the author as Sir Roger L'Estrange was like the Dog Towzer; which, joined to the scandalous print and most intolerable paper, gives it the just character of the true cheat, calculated to abuse both the author and the reader, and impose upon the world, of which I doubt not they will be further sensible, when they reflect that this book is pretended to be cheaper than the author's, being under twenty-four sheets for 5*s.*, and the other near a hundred sheets for 10*s.*; the one mere ballad paper, the other as good paper as could be bought for money. This I thought fit to give notice to the world of, and if any man is after this willing first to be cheated himself, and then to join with thieves, to rob the proprietor, they are welcome. I cannot but speak it to the honour of the subscribers, that I do not yet find one has gone off, and I doubt not but the just abhorrence of such a horrid practice will prevent the malicious design for which it was done.—*Review*, iii. 360.

(c) "Lately published, *Jure Divino*, a Satyr in twelve books, by the author of the 'True-Born Englishman;' as it was printed in Octavo, from the author's edition in Folio. Price, bound, 5*s.* Being for the particular

De Foe has the following fanciful dedication to his work: "To the most Serene, most Invincible, and most Illustrious Lady REASON: First Monarch of the World; Empress of the East, West, North, and South; Hereditary Director of all Mankind; Guide of the Passions; Lady of the vast Continent of Human Understanding; Mistress of all the Islands of Science; Governess of the Fifteen Provinces of Speech; Image of, and Ambassador Extraordinary from, the Maker of All Things; the Almighty's Representative and Resident in the Souls of Men; and one of Queen Nature's most Honourable Privy Council." Leslie having bestowed some critical remarks upon this dedication, in his "Rehearsal," De Foe gives a satisfactory reply to them in his *Review*.*

He tells us in his preface, that his satire had never been published, "had not the world seemed to be going mad a second time, with the error of passive-obedience and non-resistance." Those who preach such doctrines, he says, never practise them. "It is a mere fraud, a cheat put upon princes, to encourage them to be tyrants; but when they take them at their word, venture to lay the burthen on their backs, they rise up and kick them in the face. Of all the people in the world, these gentlemen should have done with this old sham: one jest at a time is enough for a nation; one king in an age is enough to be cheated." De Foe therefore infers, as well from general practice, as from the

accommodation of the reader, printed upon extraordinary good issue-paper, adorned with above one thousand six hundred and ninety errors of the press in literals, pointings, &c., and one hundred fifty-seven Errors in sense, several omissions of whole lines, transposing of paragraphs, and inverting the meaning. Whoever has a mind to encourage such robbery of other men's studies at their own expence, may be furnished with the said book at Mr. Benjamin Bragg's, Publisher in ordinary to the Pyrates, as appears by his setting his name to their advertisements.—*Review*, iii. 372.

* Review, iii. 367, 8.

reason of the thing, "that kings are not so *Jure Divino*, that when they break the laws, trample on property, affront religion, invade the liberties of nations, and the like, they may be opposed and resisted by force."

To guard his doctrine from misconstruction, he observes, "If any are so weak as to suppose this is a satire against kingly government, and wrote to expose monarchy, I think I should sufficiently answer so foolish a piece of raillery, by saying only, *they are mistaken.* But because some men require more explicit answers than others, I take the liberty to declare, that I not only now, but on all occasions, when there was less need of vindicating my opinion, have declared my belief to be, that a monarchy according to the present constitution, limited by parliament, and dependant upon law, is not only the best government in the world, but the best for this nation in particular, and most suitable to the genius of the people." This theory, he adds, "I can defend, without being of opinion, that kings came down from heaven with crowns upon their heads, and the people born with saddles upon their backs. I own, I am none of Issachar's asses; nor should I be willing to be governed by the Czar of Muscovy. I don't think, if a king wanted to walk across a dirty highway, his majesty might command twenty or thirty heads of his followers to be cut off to make steppings for him, that he might not dirt his sacred shoes. I profess myself a dutiful subject to the crown of England, and in that word I mean, to what head soever on which the parliament of England shall place the crown. But I own no king who shall ever wear it without consent of parliament, or after such consent, employ the powers of it to the destruction of the law and constitution of the nation; who shall invade the property of the subject, invert the public justice, or overthrow the religion and liberty of England. Such a prince is a tyrant, and may be deposed by the same power that placed him upon the throne; any hereditary succession,

pretended divine right, supreme power, or other matter to the contrary, in any wise notwithstanding."

After this exposition of his politics, De Foe proceeds by irrefragable arguments to overturn the absurd hypothesis of divine right, and illustrates the subject by a reference to our former history. The birth of this monster in politics, he traces to the fruitful invention of man, prompted by the author of mischief, "since nothing can serve so naturally to the purpose of subduing the civil rights of nations, as first to captivate their minds, and infuse notions of something sacred, either in the person or authority of the wretch they were to be oppressed by. For, who in his senses would resist the voice of a king, if once he were bigotted into an opinion that it was backed with sacred authority? And this doubtless was the occasion of the profane attempts in several of the Roman and Grecian tyrants, of causing divine honours to be paid them. By this, they obtained so much upon the minds of the poor imposed-upon multitude, that they entirely gave up their liberties to the absolute tyranny of every barbarous, inhuman wretch: and who could question but it would be so, when once the folly of man was prevailed upon to believe the divinity of the tyrant?"

"Who would not, if the gods should rule, obey?"

Of the merit of the work, there is little room to say much. "The greater part of it," says he, "was composed in prison, and as the author has unhappily felt the most violent and constant efforts of his enemies to destroy him ever since, the little composure he has had, must be his short excuse for any thing incorrect." As a poem, there are few readers in the present day to whom it would give delight; for, notwithstanding many noble ideas, expressed sometimes in vigorous language, yet, to wade through a folio volume of dull poetry, would require no ordinary stock of patience. As a political argument, it is triumphant, but would have

told better in prose than verse. One of his biographers says, "The sentiments in this performance are generally just; but it was composed under very disadvantageous circumstances, and the poetry is not entitled to much commendation. His versification is often rough and inharmonious, and his language inelegant: he seems to have allowed himself little time to polish his numbers, and was more attentive to sense than to sound; but he sometimes produces lines that are very smooth and very nervous."* Many years before the appearance of this work, Dryden had presented an example of argumentative poetry, in his "Hind and Panther," in which he defended the tenets of the Church of Rome: and whilst as a piece of reasoning it is worthless, he compensates for this defect by the elegance of his language, and the harmony of his numbers. In estimating the merits of De Foe's poem, we must reverse this character: "His purpose," as, Mr. Chalmers observes, "was doubtless honester than Dryden's; and his argument being in support of *the better cause*, is perhaps superior in strength. But in the '*Jure Divino*,' we look in vain for

> 'The varying verse, the full resounding line,
> The long majestic march, and energy divine.'"

De Foe intended to follow the subject in a second volume, and had made some progress in it; but he laid it aside for prudential reasons, as containing some things which it was not then convenient to publish. "I have many things to say," observes he, "but ye cannot bear them yet." De Foe's satire was lampooned in a doggrel poem, called "Jure Divino tossed in a Blanket: or Daniel De Foe's Memorial." The writer speaks of him as "the most dauntless rogue that ever was," and describes him as the party's champion, fitted by his talents to serve the cause he undertakes to defend.

* Biog. Brit.

Having intimated that he was conjured up by the devil, to kindle faction in the nation, he thus invokes his supposed patron:

> "Tell us then, Satan, speak it to his face,
> Thou guardian angel of the rebel race,
> Is there, like *Daniel*, one among the tribes,
> That half so well the party's zeal describes?" (D)

The following work was advertised several times in the *Review* for September and following months, and is very much in the manner of De Foe. "The Coffee-House Preachers; or High-church Divinity Corrected. Being a Sermon preached before the Mayor and Aldermen of Colchester, at the Election of a new Mayor for that town; to the exceeding Reproof and Correction of a new High-church Doctrine, lately maintained there by sundry Clergymen of the Church of England, to the eternal shame and scandal of their Morals: viz. That 'tis lawful to swear by the Name of God in Common Discourse, provided the thing be true we swear to. With a Prefatory Introduction, declaring the Occasion of this horrid Assertion, and reciting a former Sermon, preached on the late Thanksgiving; with the Treatment the Author met with on that Occasion. By William

(D) More than a century after the appearance of De Foe's work, it was partially revived by a living political writer, in a pamphlet, intitled, "The Right Divine of Kings to Govern Wrong! Dedicated to the Holy Alliance. By the Author of 'The Political House that Jack Built.' London: printed for William Hone, 45, Ludgate-street. 1821." Mr. Hone writes thus of De Foe in his Preface: "He was the ablest politician of his day, an energetic writer, and, better than all, an honest man; but not much of a poet. The '*Jure Divino*' is defective in argument and versification. It is likewise disfigured by injudicious repetitions; a large portion is devoted to the politics of the time, and it is otherwise unfit for re-publication entire; but it abounds with energetic thoughts, forcible touches, and happy illustrations. The present is an attempt to separate the gold from the dross. The selection is carefully made; from the parts rejected, the best passages are preserved; the rhyme and metre are somewhat bettered; the extracts are improved and transposed: and many additions of my own are introduced."

Smithies, *Junior*; Rector of St. Michael, Mill-End, Colchester, and Chaplain to the Right Honourable Edward Earl of Sandwich. Sold by John Morphew, near Stationers'-Hall. 1706." (E)

The occasion of the work was this. Mr. Smithies, son to the Rev. William Smithies, a worthy divine of the Church of England, and formerly a celebrated preacher at Cripplegate, was appointed to preach before the mayor and corporation of Colchester, upon the day of thanksgiving for the successes of her majesty's arms abroad; which, says De Foe, "he did in a manner as, however cavilled at, needs no defence, but speaks for itself." Part of his sermon, indeed, "touching too nearly the vices and follies of some men, gave great disgust to such, as most sermons of a like nature must, and particularly to a certain gentleman addicted to swearing even in the church. This gentleman sends Dr. Smithies a letter by way of challenge, the same day of the sermon, to tell him there would be a repetition of it that night at the coffee-house. It cannot be wondered at if this novelty brought a great crowd of the inhabitants there; some to defend, as well as others to expose, the reverend preacher of this sermon, and make sport at the thanksgiving. What the pretended repetition was, how ridiculous the banter, how unmannerly and unmanly the insults, though they may in time be made public; they are not the subject of my present observation: they are treated by the Doctor with that contempt they deserve." De Foe then relates a

(E) One of the ministers at Colchester, was Dr. Thomas Bennet, a high-church-man and voluminous writer, of whom De Foe says, in contemplation of peaceable times after the fall of the high-party, "Bennet may now drop his voluminous polemics, and cease to abridge old cases to confute the fancied errors of others: union in establishments, (alluding to that with Scotland) will sink at once all the hopes he and his high-flying brethren had conceived of crushing an interest, which, being fixed both upon truth and the law, challenges now a liberty both from the authority of God and man."—*Review*, iii. 505.

dialogue that took place at the coffee-house, and concludes by telling us, that "this champion of Satan's kingdom, this solicitor for hell, will let us know that he is a high-flyer too;" upon which he founds a reflection, that there is a strong connexion between the morals and the politics of that party, equally unfavourable to their reputation. *

This year brought along with it a revival of our author's troubles, arising out of his former engagements in business. In consequence of the act lately passed for the relief of debtors, De Foe surrendered to the Commissioners, who investigated his accounts, in order to his discharge. This was opposed upon some frivolous pretences, by an unprincipled lawyer, employed, it seems, by creditors equally unprincipled. The affair, however, will be best understood as related by himself, and it unfolds a melancholy tale of his misfortunes. The *Review* for August 20, 1706, contains the following extraordinary narrative:—

"I confess myself surprised at my own affair, and should not have troubled the world with it, if it was not something peculiar, and that was never heard of before. Several debtors have been used hardly by creditors, and their discharge vigorously opposed; but was ever the world so mad! The unhappy author of this, claiming a discharge from old misfortunes, by a clear surrender as by law directed, finds himself opposed,—not by those he owes money to, but by those who owe him money; not by those who by disaster are wronged, but by those who have wronged, cheated and plundered him of the money which should have helped to discharge others; to whom he never owed a shilling, of whom he never borrowed, but to whom he always lent; and who have actually defrauded him of near 500*l.* advanced in compassion to save them from destruction. Would any

* Review, iii. 402, 3.

unhappy man have looked for opposition from such people as these? Has any bankrupt been thus treated before?

"In the behalf of these people, a certain lawyer opposed the discharge of the unhappy insolvent, with a fury and malice singular to himself, and suitable to the cause. I should indeed have done him justice, and told the world, he was at last so ashamed of his clients as to disown them, and say he appeared for another, who was really a creditor; but then I must be obliged to expose his morals, the gentleman he named having since declared before good witness, he gave him no orders, and was under a promise not to appear. If the truth of this be questioned, and it be doubted whether there are any such monsters in the world, the reader may at any time have the persons and particulars; for I scorn to conceal names in a charge so direct as this. If this has not in it all the villany of abstract malice, I know not where to search for it, and hope no real creditor of mine can be offended, either that I then told him so, or that I now publish it to the world; the first, to convince them how this man's design is to screen those whom the creditor ought to call to account for above 400*l.* of their money; and the last, to let the world know what monsters there are in it. If this paper should acquaint the world how these people have hitherto treated its author; how they have seized upon his writings, left only in trust; how conveyed away their relation, a partner, that he might not be an evidence, and compounded his private debts for him without which he would not go; how they have sued for bonds given, and afterwards discharged in partnership, and sued in the name of the persons to whom they were paid, without their knowledge; how, after beginning a suit, they have not dared to go on, and after proposing a reference, have not dared to stand to it, though accepted, and offered to be determined by their own arbitrator: If I should run on into all these particulars, the story would be too black to read.

"I ask pardon of the unconcerned part of the world, that this paper should take up any of their time in reading the melancholy story of my private oppressions; and I break it off here, because I purpose to lay it wholly open to the world by itself; where the persons concerned may reflect upon the methods taken by them or their lawyer, for I question if they are privy to it all, to ruin the family of a man that twice endeavoured to save theirs." De Foe resolves the opposition to him into mere spleen, and says, "As to the lawyer's declining afterwards to own he appeared for these people, and affirming he appeared for another, 'tis plain it was a forgery of his own, to prevent his being turned out of the room with the infamy he deserved. That gentleman has since owned, as by his affidavit will appear, that he gave him no orders, nor had any such design. If by such art and fury I fall, let no man wonder; for who can stand against envy, who can resist refined malice?

"This case gives a sad instance of the madness of the age; wherein nothing but the entire destruction of the debtor and his family, can expiate the crime of his own disaster. Having been fourteen years in retreat, in jeopardy, in broils, and most of the time in banishment from his family, he has swallowed up all he had gained, though that has been very considerable, in the gradual payment of his creditors, and in defending himself against those who would have it, not only faster than their fellow-creditors, but faster than it could be got. They have since seen him stripped naked by the government, and the foundations torn up, on which he had built the prospect of paying his debts, and raising his family. And yet, now, when by common reasoning they ought to believe the man has not bread for his children, they have redoubled their attacks with declarations, executions, escape-warrants, and God knows how many engines of destruction. As if a gaol and death would pay their debts; as if money

was to be found in the blood of a debtor, and they were to open his veins to find it.

> "That bind the ready hands of industry,
> Pinion the willing wings, and bid men fly;
> Resolv'd to ruin me the Shortest Way,
> They strip me naked first, then bid me pay."

"But this is not yet all. For, though I confess I did not expect it, yet, as some whisperings have been spread of a further plot, even against the life of this unhappy debtor, and that amongst his friends, he cannot but take notice of it here, as what he thinks the only proper season, as it is indeed one of the chief reasons of this publication. It is no other than a vile and scandalous suggestion, that he made concealments to defraud his creditors; or, in plain English, has not made a fair surrender of his effects. Now, if this be true, he must be the greatest fool, as well as knave, knowing how many bloody enemies, as well as base and hypocritical friends, he is encompassed with. But, if it be not true, it is a most vile and barbarous scandal. Omissions are certainly possible: the author is no more infallible than other men. He may, and 'tis much if he has not, in the life of constant hurries that he has lived, have erred in some part of his account; and if this is your charge, if you are men of like frailties, and whose case may one time or other want the like charity; if you have any thing left in you that is human; if any compassion for a man in danger, with a family of seven children, that must perish in his disaster, inform him of it, and show him this gulph of destruction before it be too late. If this is not the point; if it be a snare or an advantage you have gotten to expose, and as far as in you lies, to ruin and disappoint him, pray come in with your charge at the meeting, and let it appear. But, if it be nothing but blood, and death is in your imagination, know, gentlemen, the murther is

already committed, and your guilt determined in the intention. But, as to himself, he frankly defies your attempt, as he is out of fear at your rage. He has already appealed to sovereign truth in his case, and willingly throws himself into the hands of justice, fairly challenging all the malice of hell, and the rage of men, to fasten the crime upon him."*

It may seem difficult, in these peaceable times, to assign any reasonable cause for so much ill-treatment, and any attempt to search the wound would be far from a grateful task. The victim of this relentless persecution, as well as the persons who promoted it, has passed the boundaries of time, and has appeared before a higher tribunal. Happily for the unfortunate debtor, the laws have since then undergone a very considerable amendment; but, in addition to this, the spirit of the times is also improved, so that no honourable man is under any apprehension that the stream of justice will be polluted by the tinge of political animosity. It was not so in the days of De Foe.

Having placed his affairs in a train for settlement, as far as he was able, he resolved to quit a scene that was productive of so much disquiet and vexation. His steps were now directed to Scotland, where we afterwards find him actively employed in promoting the Union. But, before his arrival there, he had to encounter fresh scenes of persecution: they are thus related by him.

"I was no sooner upon my own affairs come out of London, with a design to travel for some time, but these sons of slander reported I was fled; and having nothing to fix a flight upon, it must be for debt. This, however, would not hold, having, just before this pretended flight, made a full, free, and honest surrender of all my affairs which the law directed, and this after four severe trials upon oath. Then I was fled from the resentment of a certain eminent and

* Review, iii. 397—400.

honourable person, at something printed in the *Review*, and for which the printer and publisher were called to answer. But this slander was, unhappily for its author, contradicted, in that the paper so giving offence, was not written till since I left London. And, as I have on all occasions declared, I had not the least thought of reflecting on that honourable person, so had I offended him, I am too sensible of his lordship's candour and justice, to have fled any where but to himself; and I would have entirely submitted to ask his lordship's pardon in the humblest manner, making all the satisfaction either his clemency or his justice should have awarded.

"But neither of these things happening to hold water, then it comes out that I have given in a wrong statement of my affairs." De Foe here publishes a letter sent to the commissioners, the purport of which was, that some nameless person could discover an estate of £400 per annum, belonging to De Foe, which he had omitted in his schedule; but, before he revealed the secret, he expected the expences of his journey to be defrayed, and a reward secured to him, of which notice should be given in the Gazette. Upon this malicious hoax, he observes, "This gentleman had been unknown till now, for any answer that had been given to so plain a sham; because, had D. F. £400 per annum, he would certainly have had no creditors to surrender to; and the money to be paid before the discovery, intimated so much of a cheat, that it was not worth an advertisement in the Gazette, which would have cost ten shillings, to answer such a fellow, who was left to go on with his discovery his own way. But, since he, or some other person like him, has taken upon him to raise such a report, I shall answer in short, that if any man can make out any concealment, fraud, or wilful reserve of any thing relating to my account or effects surrendered, and pleases to offer proof of it, in whatever nation, kingdom or country I may happen to be, I will, on

the first notice, come to England, and put myself into the hands of justice, to suffer whatever the law shall inflict. In the mean time, I beg of all impartial persons, who regard the reputation and character of an injured and innocent man, that they will treat such stories with the contempt they deserve, till fair proof be made: and this is all the favour I ask.—D. F." *

* Review, iii. 575, 6.

CHAPTER XXI.

Union with Scotland.—Promoted by De Foe.—His Account of the Capabilities of the Country.—His Poem on Peace and Union.—He Publishes "The Advantages of the Act of Security."—His Essays at Removing National Prejudices.—He is Patronized by Harley and Godolphin.—And taken into the Service of the Queen.—To whom he is Introduced.—He Departs for Scotland.—Arrives at Edinburgh.—His Employment there.—His Danger from the Mob.—He Publishes "Caledonia," a Poem.—Design of the Work.—Its Various Editions.—Opposition to the Union.—Hodges writes against it.—De Foe's Account of his Work.—And Reply to his Arguments.—His Controversy with Webster.—Who Publishes "Lawful Prejudices against an Union."—In which he Reflects upon the English Dissenters.—De Foe replies to him in "The Dissenters in England Vindicated."—Webster Publishes a second Pamphlet.—In which he Abuses De Foe.—Who Prepares a Vindication of Himself.—But Suppresses it at the Desire of the Ministers of Edinburgh.—Another Opponent to Webster.—Who Publishes "A Second Defence of Lawful Prejudices."—Bigotry of the Presbyterians.—De Foe Publishes "The Dissenters Vindicated; or, a Short View of the Present State of the Protestant Religion in Britain."—Nature of the Work.—Policy of the Union Discussed in the Review.—He Promises another Work upon the Subject.—His Schemes for the Improvement of Scotland.—Defends himself against Reproaches.—He Publishes "A Voice from the South." Other Works attributed to him.—He Defends Himself against Leslie.—He is Attacked by Lockhart.—And Oldmixon.—He makes many Friends in Scotland.—His Letter to the Earl of Buchan.—Dunton's Account of him at this Period.

1706—7.

THE most important subject that occupied the attention of parliament, and of the nation, this year, was the Union with Scotland. In the success of this measure, De Foe was warmly interested, and he discovered his zeal by composing

and publishing a variety of works; in some of which he debated its policy and utility, and in others, replied to the arguments of its opponents.

As De Foe had resided a considerable time in Scotland, he had ample opportunities for making his observations upon the country and its inhabitants; and the result was favourable to both. In debating the Union, he says, "Those who fancy there is nothing to be had there but wild men and ragged mountains, storms, snows, poverty, and barrenness, are quite mistaken; it being a noble country, of a fruitful soil and healthy air, well seated for trade, full of manufactures by land, and a treasure great as the Indies, at their door by sea. The poverty of Scotland, and the fruitfulness of England, or rather, the difference between them, is owing, not to mere difference of climate, or the nature of the soil; but to the errors of time, and their different constitutions. And here I must tell our friends in England, who are so backward to set their country free, and so willing to enslave us again, that the different face of the two countries, to whoever will please to survey them as I have done, is the best lecture upon politics. All the land in England is not fruitful, nor that in Scotland all barren. Climate cannot be the cause; for the lands in the north of Scotland are, in general, better than the lands in Cornwall, which are near 600 miles south of them; but liberty and trade have made the one rich, and tyranny the other poor."*

In prospect of the intended Union, he devoted one of his *Reviews* to a poem upon the subject, intitled "Peace and Union." His rhyming genius being as prolific as the subject, it produced two other poems, which appeared in some subsequent numbers. But he rendered more important services to the promoters of the measure, by his publications in prose. The Act of Security, which had been lately

* Review, iii. 671.

revived in Scotland, and conceded by the necessities of the English ministers, had caused much unnecessary alarm amongst the Tories of England. To allay their fears, De Foe published his pamphlet, intitled "The Advantages of the Act of Security, compared with those of the intended Union; founded on the Revolution Principles. By D. De Foe. London: 1706." 4to. Whilst the treaty was in progress, he published several other works, both in England and Scotland, for the purpose of forwarding the business. One of these was, "An Essay at Removing National Prejudices against a Union with Scotland. To be continued during the Treaty here. Part 1. London: printed in the year 1706." 4to. pp. 30. A second part was advertised in the *Review* for the 25th of May; and it was followed by *four* other parts with the same title, and all published between this and the commencement of the next year. In the *Review* for the 26th of January 1706-7, he says, "I have published six several Essays in Scotland, for removing national prejudices."

But it was not by his pen only that De Foe promoted this great measure; he also contributed to it largely by his personal services. By the recommendation of Harley, he acquired the favour and patronage of Lord Godolphin, who seems to have entertained as high an opinion of his talents and integrity, as his first benefactor. At the suggestion of these ministers, he was now taken into the service of the queen, and had the honour, as he himself informs us, "to be employed in several honourable, though secret services."* The precise nature of them he does not state, only, that he acquitted himself to the satisfaction of his employers. "I had the happiness," says he, "to discharge myself in all these trusts so much to the satisfaction of those who employed me, though oftentimes with difficulty and danger,

* Appeal to Honour and Justice, p. 14.

that my Lord-Treasurer Godolphin, whose memory I have always honoured, was pleased to continue his favour to me, and to do me all good offices to her majesty, even after an unhappy breach had separated him from my first benefactor."*

Scotland now became the scene of his labours. His ready talents and insinuating address, combined with his general knowledge of commercial affairs, pointed him out to the ministers as a fit person for a mission to that country; and the regard he had always manifested for the Scots, would render him more acceptable to them than many of his countrymen. The subject, also, was by no means new to him, having conversed upon it, many years before, with the late King William. In his Introduction to the "History of the Union," he says, "I had the honour to mention it once, among other things, in a scheme of general peace among the Protestant interests of Europe; and I cannot forget that his majesty, expressing some concern at it, returned, 'I have done all I can in that affair, but I do not see a temper in either nation that looks like it;' and added, after some other discourse, 'It may be done, but not yet.'" The extreme jealousy of both nations against any encroachments upon their church-establishments, threw many obstacles in the way of its success, and required the utmost delicacy upon the part of its managers. De Foe was well acquainted with the sources of these mutual antipathies; and a confidence in his abilities, founded upon past experience, fully justified the choice of the ministers. Before his departure, he had the honour of an introduction to the queen, and kissed her hand upon his appointment.

De Foe arrived in Edinburgh early in the month of October, 1706; and was recognized by the treaters in a character almost diplomatic. He disguised his journey under

* Appeal to Honour and Justice, p. 14.

motives of curiosity, strengthened by the encouragement of his friends, "who thought he might be useful there in prompting a work that he was fully convinced was for the general good of the whole island, and particularly necessary for strengthening the Protestant interest." By this journey, he tells us, he had an opportunity of witnessing all the succeeding transactions relating to the Union, and of using his best endeavours to answer the many frivolous objections, formed and improved there with great industry against it. He was frequently sent for by the committees of parliament, and employed in making calculations relating to trade and taxes.* Being thoroughly conversant with these matters, he sat down to them with great expertness, and had the satisfaction of seeing his labours approved. But some persons, envious of his reputation, were desirous of wresting from him his laurels; until a clamour being raised against some of his calculations, made them willing that he should bear the odium. In representing this injury, he says, "I shall be very far from offering to make any part of this history officious, in giving an account of any mean share the author had in this affair, yet I cannot omit relating what casually happened to him; and it may be mentioned for the sake of the jest it made in the town: viz., that, while it was thought well done to have a share in stating the proportions of the excise, several persons pretended to the title of being the first contrivers of it; but when afterwards, upon some clamour raised upon the inequality of the proportions, the contrivers began to be blamed, and a little threatened *a-la-mob;* then it was, D. F. made it all, and he was to be stoned for it: and afterwards, when these differences appearing but trifles, were, by the prudence of the commissioners, reconciled, then they would willingly have re-assumed the honour of being the first framers of this affair."†

* Hist. of the Union, p. 213, 401. † Ibid, p. 379.

During the tumults at Edinburgh, he partook of the common danger that threatened all the advocates for the Union. It was then unsafe to appear in the streets, and the terror of the inhabitants made them extinguish the lights in their houses. De Foe happening to view the proceedings of the mob from his window, had a large stone thrown at him; "for they suffered nobody to look out, especially with any light, lest they should know faces, and inform against them afterwards."* He adds, "the author of this had his share of the danger in this tumult, and though unknown to him, was watched and set by the mob, in order to know where to find him; had his chamber windows insulted, and the windows below him broken by mistake. But, by the prudence of his friends, the shortness of its continuance, and God's providence, he escaped."† In the midst of these scenes of disorder, he collected the documents which he afterwards published for the instruction of posterity; and they furnished him with a number of incidents, which serve to illustrate the spirit of the times, as well as to enliven his narrative.

Towards the close of the year, whilst the treaty was still under debate, De Foe published some verses in praise of Scotland, intitled, "CALEDONIA, &c. A Poem in honour of Scotland, and the Scots Nation. In Three Parts. Edinburgh: Printed by the Heirs and Successors of Andrew Anderson, printer to the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, Anno Dom. 1706." Folio. pp. 60." It is dedicated to the queen's high-commissioner, the Duke of Queensberry, who, besides other benefactions, gave the author, whom he styles *Daniel De Foe, Esquire,* an exclusive privilege for selling his eulogistic strains, during the space of seven years. (F)

* Hist. of the Union, p. 238. † Ibid, p. 239.

(F) "At Holyrood-house, the third of December, 1706. His Grace, her Majesty's High Commissioner, and Lords of Privy Council, having con-

In a prefatory address to the parliament, he says, "I acknowledge that the honour done both to the author and the work, in the ready subscription to the charge, by an illustrious roll of the nobility and gentry of this kingdom, and in the grant from her majesty's most honourable privy-council, to prevent surreptitious impressions of it, are such honours, especially being done before the performance was shown, as I know not how to express my grateful sense of, only by acknowledging myself infinitely obliged, and ever bound to show my gratitude, both to the gentlemen, and on their account, to the whole nation; and though their own modesty forbids me printing a list of the names of the subscribers, yet it cannot be concealed from the world, that any man that attempts to serve Scotland, shall always meet with men of sense and honour there, both to reward and encourage him. The debt of justice due from me on this account, will, I hope, excuse my offering these sheets to the Parliament of Scotland."

The chief design of the poem, next to that of doing justice to the Scots nation, is to invite an increased attention to the improvement of the country, by the encouragement of commerce and agriculture, which would raise its prosperity to a degree commensurate with its natural advantages. Our author's gratitude for the favours he received from the

sidered a petition given in to them by Daniel De Foe, Esquire, and the same being read in their presence, his Grace and the said Lords do hereby grant licence to the petitioner and his assignees, to publish the poem intitled, *Caledonia, a Poem*, in honour of Scotland, and the Scots nation, and discharge any other person to print, vend, import, or sell the said poem during the space of seven years, without the petitioner or his assignees' warrant or commission, under the pain of forefaulting and seizing the copies so printed, imported, vended, or sold for the use of the petitioner and by his assignees, and under the penalty of ten pounds sterling for each hundred of the said copies imported, printed, vended, or sold in manner aforesaid, and proportionably for a greater or lesser number. Extracted by me, A. Maitland, Cl. Scti. Concilii."

Scots, led him to embalm the worth of many of their most eminent families." "In this poem," says one of his biographers, "De Foe celebrates the courage of the Scots, and enumerates some of their military exploits. He endeavours to prove, that the situation of Scotland rendered it well-adapted for trade; he speaks honourably of the abilities of the inhabitants; he commends them for their learning, and their attention to religion; and he hints at the advantages which they might derive from an union with England. But though De Foe's poem was a panegyric upon Scotland and Scotsmen, it did not wholly consist of commendation. He takes notice of the evils that the common people suffered from their vassalage to their chiefs, and from their ignorance of the blessings of liberty. He also censures the Scots for not improving the natural advantages which their country possessed, and for neglecting their fishery; and he gives them some excellent advice."* An octavo edition of his work was printed in London, in the following year; and another, in 1748. In the last, the original dedication is omitted, and another, addressed to the Duke of Argyle, is substituted. A preface is also added by the editor, who was a zealous Scotsman.(o)

Amongst the opponents of the Union, were many of the

* Biog. Brit.

(o) In this edition, the title is considerably enlarged, and runs thus: "CALEDONIA: A Poem, in Honour of Scotland, and the People of that Nation. In which the scandalous and groundless Imputations of Cowardice, Savageness, and Immorality, so much ascribed to the Inhabitants of that truly ancient and heroic kingdom, are, with great justice, confuted, and retorted upon her false and envious accusers; and they proved to be as zealous in defence of the Protestant Religion against the Attempts of the Church of Rome, as any other Protestants in the three kingdoms. Whereby Scotland is rescued out of the Jaws of Slander, the Grave of her Character, and the Gulph of Prejudice; in which all the great and Warlike Actions of her Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty are too much buried. Dedicated to the Duke of Argyle. London: printed for W. Owen, near Temple Bar. 1748." 8vo. pp. 58.

Presbyterian clergy, who became alarmed for the safety of their establishment, which they thought was in a fair way of being betrayed into the hands of their enemies. "These, or most of them," says De Foe, "were honest, well-meaning, and some of them most pious and valuable people; however some of them might sin against moderation in the manner of their dissenting, and a little too warmly push on their private opinions. The weakness any of them might discover in countenancing the disorders of the times, was rather the artifice of a party that endeavoured to inflame the nation, and put the appearance of it upon them."* De Foe intimates, that they confined their opposition wholly to legal applications, with the exception of the tumult at Dumfries, where the articles of the treaty were burnt at the market-cross, by a number of people in arms, who affixed to it a paper, called, "Reasons for, and Designs in burning the Articles," which was afterwards printed. The Jacobites and episcopal Dissenters were the most forward in these tumults, and in their opposition to the Union, which gave a death-blow to their hopes for the establishment of their church.

One of the most strenuous writers against the Union, was James Hodges, a Presbyterian minister, who had formerly published a book in the defence of the government and independency of Scotland, for which he was handsomely rewarded by the parliament. He now wrote a large work against an incorporate union, in which he reproaches England as a faithless, wicked, and treacherous nation, and asserts, that to unite with her, would be to entail God's judgment upon Scotland for her national sins. In reference to this work, our author writes thus: "While the parliament was sitting in Scotland, upon the affair of the Union, a book, said to be written by Mr. Hodges, was printed in England, and sent down into Scotland to be dispersed there.

* Hist. of the Union, p. 219.

It was intitled, 'The Rights and Interests of the Two British Monarchies,' and was designed to prove that the Union was inconsistent with the happiness of Scotland, by reason of several interposing interests. Among the rest, he tells the Scotch, what perhaps you may laugh at in England, but I wish may not be found too true in one sense, though I hope not in the sense he designed, viz. That sin in Scotland is but shame-faced, timorous and lurking, in comparison of what it is in England, and especially at London; and then goes on to enumerate all our crimes, in a list that has too much truth in it."* Upon the effects produced by this work in Scotland, owing in a great measure to the reputation of the writer, De Foe observes, "It was industriously spread over the kingdom in a few days, and nobody of any consideration but had a sight of it. Nay, it was handed about among the poor people to stir them up and inflame them, and it had all the success the wickedest creature could wish for; the dark side of every thing was shown them, and the true sense of things concealed; and who can but think the people thus abused, should run out into extravagances? It is not so much that a book fraught with absurdities and contradictions merits a note in this work, but I think it is absolutely necessary to show where the general disaffection at the Union began, since it was manifest that till this time, the people were, in general, very well satisfied, and the prospect of an Union was very grateful to them."†

Our author devotes several of his *Reviews* to an examination of this work, and reduces the arguments of Hodges to the following particulars. 1. That England will be bound by no conditions. 2. That the parliament of Britain will subject Scotland, without any regard to the treaty. 3. That two established churches are inconsistent. 4. That England is a nation too wicked to join with; and that the Scots will

* Review, v. 149. † Hist. Union, 223.

take upon them the guilt of our national crimes. 5. That if they agree to equivalents, we shall cheat them; and the like. These heavy charges, De Foe treats as utterly groundless, and an impeachment of the good faith of England. To quiet the writer's fears, he says, "Should England, under the shelter of a majority of voices, attempt the enslaving of Scotland, invade the treaty, and break in upon the conditions by violence, the consequence is plain; the partnership is broke, the Union dissolved of course, and the invaders become tyrants and oppressors."* The apprehensions of the Scots seem to have been chiefly for the safety of their church; and De Foe intimates, that the conduct of the high-party in England had furnished them with some handle in that respect. But, the question of the Scottish Establishment, he argues, can never be debated in parliament without shaking the foundation of the Union, and operating like an earthquake under the pillars of the House.† Upon the subject of national vices, he says, "Reformation of manners is certainly the glory of a nation; and I must do Scotland that justice that, generally speaking, they have a greater victory over reigning, open and authorised crime, than England." He, however, observes, that he could not go the lengths of this writer, who seemed to argue upon the principle, *Stand off, I am holier than thou.*‡ But, England, bad as she is, is yet a reforming nation." Referring to former times, he says, "Let them look at what strength crime was arrived to, by the help of some monarchs, that Scotland ought not to blame England for, and compare what she is, with what she was."§ If an union could not be resisted, Hodges pleaded for one of a federative kind, as according best with the independency of Scotland; but De Foe contended in opposition to him, that an incorporative union would be most for the advantage of both countries, and had been long projected with the con-

* Review, iii. 609. † Ibid, 602. ‡ Ibid, 539. § Ibid, 613.

currence of the Scottish parliament. A pamphlet, written partly against Hodges, appeared at this time with the following title: "A Letter to a Friend, giving an Account how the Treaty of Union has been received here. With Remarks on what has been written by Mr. H. (Hodges), and Mr. R. (Ridpath). Edinb. 1706." 4to. This seems to have been written by an Englishman, and perhaps by De Foe.

Another writer with whom De Foe was committed in this controversy, was Mr. James Webster, minister of the Tolbooth church in Edinburgh; of whom De Foe writes thus: "He is a man of learning and parts, abundance of wit, and better read in the polite part of language than many of his neighbours; an extraordinary preacher, and I hope a very good man. His chief misfortune is, a warm head and ungoverned temper, which when it gets the better of him, darkens all his shining qualities, and strangely exposes him. This gentleman appeared vigorously for the union of the two kingdoms all the time of the treaty; and having had the honour of frequent and intimate conversation with him, I have often heard him declare, he believed the Church of Scotland could not be safe without the Union. In several places he was the first promoter of it, and proselyted others. The very week the treaty was finished and touched with the sceptre, without discovering the least alteration in his conversation, at least to me, he publishes a book, in which, with gross invectives, he lays down the Union as a national perjury, breach of covenant, destruction to the church, &c."* His pamphlet is intitled, "Lawful Prejudices against an incorporating Union with England; or some Modest Considerations on the Sinfulness of this Union, and the Danger following from it to the Church of Scotland. Edinburgh. 1707." 4to.

The appearance of such a pamphlet from Mr. Webster,

* Dissenters Vindicated.—*Pref.*

could not but surprise our author, who says, that being a stranger in the place, he should not have taken any notice of it, had not the author, in a most unhandsome manner, fallen upon the Dissenters in England. When setting out the danger of the Church of Scotland from the British parliament and the Episcopal hierarchy, he aggravates it by insinuating his suspicions of the English Presbyterians, who, says he, had most of them declared for a moderate episcopacy, and were Baxterians in doctrine. For the proof of this, he refers to Baxter, Bates and Howe; and says, "An Act of Comprehension thrown in among such, would deprive us of the help and assistance we could hope for from that quarter. From all which 'tis evident, we have not many firm friends in England we can rely on, and that we may come to be in great danger from the British constitution." The author's fears upon this head were as groundless as his other suggestion relating to the Dissenters. His remarks concerning prelacy and the covenant, show that his mind was cast in the true mould of an ecclesiastical bigot; but he says some good things upon the sacramental test, "which is indeed a horrid perverting of the original design of that institution, and giving that which is holy to dogs."

It was with great reluctance that De Foe entered upon a controversy with this writer. He observes, "Though I have had but very bad luck at vindicating the Dissenters, and may have some reason to think myself ill-treated both *by them* and *for them*, yet, I thought I could by no means abandon them in such a case as this, being upon the spot; and having, as I thought, a visible summons into this service, I found myself under a necessity of doing them justice in the best manner I could. But as I had a real value for Mr. Webster, and was very loth to have a personal quarrel with him, seeing it would be a pleasing fray to none but the enemies of the Union, to prevent if possible a breach, I sent him a very civil letter, signifying, that I was sorry I found

myself obliged to debate some points with him in print; that I thought it my duty to defend the Dissenters, when absent and injured; professed all possible respect for him; and begged his pardon for necessary plainness, since it must come so far. I thought a letter so civil might at least have procured a return, and that the effect might have been a conference; but he never gave me the civility of an answer. Upon this, I published a single sheet only, in answer to that part of the book relating to the Dissenters, taking no notice of his argument about the sinfulness of the Union. This paper I entitled "The Dissenters in England vindicated from some Reflections in a late Pamphlet called '*Lawful Prejudices*,' &c." In this sheet I used him with the utmost tenderness and civility; professing that nothing but my sense of justice, and as I thought of duty to an absent and injured people, could oblige me to enter into the contest; and in return, I never expected any thing but gentlemanly usage." In this respect, he was disappointed.

Mr. Webster published, in reply to De Foe's tract, "The Author of the Lawful Prejudices against an incorporating Union with England, defended. In Answer to a Pamphlet, intitled 'The Dissenters in England Vindicated,' &c. Edinburgh: 1707." 4to. pp. 14. "In this book," says De Foe, "he first personates a third person, and calls himself only a friend to the author of the Lawful Prejudices; but afterwards appears in person as the same man. And here, I confess, he surprised not me only, but all the town, while instead of argument he gave a loose to his passion, and flies out upon me in all the opprobrious terms, harsh railing, Billingsgate language, that his fury could dictate to him; calling me abundance of ill names, unbecoming a gentleman, much more a minister of the gospel. He had, it seems, a letter sent him by somebody, which he assumes, from the style, to be mine, though never two were more different; and prints part of this letter, bidding the world guess at my

temper by it. Not content with this, he goes up and down the town, railing at, and abusing, me with all the mean and scandalous methods of a slanderer; thus, if possible, to conquer the argument by conquering the man. I confess, I was provoked at this, and immediately drew up a short piece, in which I first vindicated my proceeding with him, and answered his heat and passion in a manner, though respectful, yet such as the just resentment of his usage might be expected to produce.

"The honest and sober people in Edinburgh," observes De Foe, "shewed themselves exceedingly concerned at this breach; and I must do them the justice to say, that universally the ministers declared their dislike of it; and to prevent its going on, several of them applied to me to desire I would not write again. I readily promised them, if Mr. Webster would let the Dissenters alone, I would not say a word, and would give him a friendly meeting when he pleased; that I would refer it to six of the ministers, and he should name them all; and if they determined that I had injured him in any thing, I would make him as public an acknowledgment as they should award. His friends besieged him with intreaties on this account, but all in vain; he would neither meet me, refer it to the ministers, nor forbear his railing book, but brought it out as noted above. My answer was in the press, and the copy finished. The title was, "Passion and Prejudice the Support of one another, and both destructive to the Happiness of the Nation, &c." While this was doing, the honest, well-meaning people, and particularly some of Mr. Webster's hearers, entreated me not to expose him, nor carry on the debate any further. I shall not enter here into the reasons used with me on that subject, nor the just value I had for the honest principles of the persons thus soliciting me. But when I considered the rashness and temper of the man, otherwise I hope a good and useful person; when I con-

sidered whose work we were both doing, and what interest such a breach would carry on, I thought it was my part, who had been so long pressing the world to peace, to practice it as an example, and the self-denial that was to follow was not very easy. Yet, in this I chose to lay aside my own vindication, and bear the slanders and calumnies of my enemies unanswered; not doubting, but while I thus pursue the public good, my own character shall at last be cleared some other way. In this temper, I laid aside my satire, though actually printed, and lost all the charge." *

Mr. Webster found another opponent in the author of "A Letter from the Country," &c., in which the Union was defended from the objections of some of the Presbyterians, on the score of their national covenant. This produced "A Second Defence of the Lawful Prejudices, containing a Vindication of the Obligation of the National Covenant and Solemn League. In Answer to a 'Letter from the Country,' &c. Written by the Minister of Humby." It is unfortunate for the world, when the priests of any religion turn politicians; for however respectable their character, and whatever merit they possess, as the teachers of religion, yet, when they meddle with legislation, they are sure to mar it with their professional prejudices. The Scotch Presbyterians of this period, emulated the bigotry of their high-church rivals in England; and, if the different objects they contended for were as wide asunder as the poles, they both tended to one point—the slavery of conscience, and the spoliation of civil liberty. In balancing the accounts of nations, whatever is gained to the civil government from the influence of the priesthood, is so much loss to the people. A fact so notorious as to be matter of daily experience, requires no illustration; nor need we go any farther to account

* Dissenters Vindicated.—*Pref.*

for the slow progress of knowledge and virtue, which can thrive only in the bed of civil liberty.

Although, in compliance with the wishes of his friends, De Foe had consented to overlook the personal attack of Mr. Webster, yet he did not consider himself obliged to desert the argument. He therefore stated it afresh in a larger pamphlet, published in London, the 1st of April, 1707, and intitled, "The Dissenters Vindicated; or a Short View of the Present State of the Protestant Religion in Britain, as it is now professed in the Episcopal Church of England, the Presbyterian Church in Scotland, and the Dissenters in both. In Answer to some Reflections in Mr. Webster's two Books, published in Scotland. London: printed in the year 1707." 8vo. pp. 48. In this work, De Foe avoided all personalities. He discusses the points at issue between himself and Mr. Webster, without so much as mentioning his name, taking them up as general arguments; but, in a long preface, he details all the particulars of their controversy.

The course of his subject led him to trace the secret springs of the Reformation, both in England and Scotland; the rise of the Puritans in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; the state of Non-conformity after the Restoration; and the grounds of separation from the English hierarchy. Upon the point more immediately in debate, he observes, that the disposition to compliance with a moderate episcopacy evinced by some of the ministers at the Savoy conference, was no rule for the conduct of their successors fifty years afterwards; that the controversy since then had assumed some new features; and that a comprehension could never be rationally entertained without sacrificing the most material points in dispute between the two parties. These, he reduces to two heads: The *Pontificate*, or episcopal hierarchy; and the *Regale*, or the supremacy of the magistrate, which

gave him the power to impose indifferent things in the worship of God, and make them necessary to Christian communion. These topics, he reasons with much good sense and knowledge of his subject; and whilst he contends strenuously against unscriptural impositions, he speaks with the utmost candour of those churches that have unwarrantably resorted to them. His work having been written in Scotland, at a distance from his books and vouchers, he apologises for its imperfections; but hopes they will be no disparagement to his argument. Having a just confidence in the goodness of his cause, he valued not the reproaches of his enemies. "The party, therefore, in nothing more mistakes me," says he, "than in thinking that for peace-sake I avoid reflecting on their follies, 'tis for any value or fear of their resentment. They must be little acquainted with the scenes I have acted in the world, who know me no better than that; and I refer them to the resentments of men much more capital than their own ambitious thoughts can pretend to, and let them see the influence their anger has had on me." He therefore reposed himself in the honesty of his design, and in the approbation of those who had given testimony to the value of his labours.

The general policy of the Union, is discussed by De Foe at full length in his *Reviews*; he also combats the various arguments brought forward by its opponents, and eulogizes the Duke of Queensberry, her majesty's High-Commissioner, for his "prudence, moderation, and steady conduct," in the affair. (H) "But I shall take more room than these papers

(H) De Foe was personally known to the Duke, who entertained him at his noble mansion at Drumlanrig, and bestowed upon him other marks of favour. In recording his merits several years afterwards, he says, "As I had the honour to be known to his Grace, so I had the opportunity to see and read, by his permission, several letters written to him by the late King William with his own hand, and several more by Queen Anne, written also by her Majesty's own hand, with such expressions of their satisfaction in is fidelity and affection to their Majestys' service: his ability and extra

will allow," says he, "to do his Grace justice on that account, being preparing for the public a complete history of the whole affair of this Union, extracted from the originals, which I have had the honour of being permitted to have access to on all occasions, and from my own journals of fact, which I have exactly kept from the beginning of the treaty in both kingdoms, having been upon the spot every minute of the transaction. And this I say now, not so much to prepare the world for the book, as to excuse my not being longer here, in the particulars of the behaviour of all parties in this affair." *

In another paper, he says, "If any man is so weak as to imagine this has been carried through without difficulty, let him have patience till a more particular account shall see the light. As to the meaner share the author of this had, whether in the general affair without doors, or in the fate threatened in the consequences; how pointed out for destruction; how his lodgings marked for the direction of the rabble; how watched in and out from place to place, and beset for murther and mischief; and how by the distinguished protection of providence, yet preserved to give the world this account; and he hopes for doing yet further service in it: These are things too mean to come into the story, and he leaves them as trifles worth nobody's notice but his own." †

In one of his papers, he says, "If I live to see the happy

ordinary judgment in the affairs entrusted to him; his knowledge of, and zeal for, the true interest of his country; and their dependance upon his counsels and conduct, that no minister of state in Europe could desire greater testimonies of his services, and at the distance of several years." De Foe further informs us, that he was desired by the Duke to go over his estate, and make his observations, with a view to the introduction of some English improvements; and that in the course of the survey, he discovered in several places evident tokens of lead-mines; but that the sudden death of the Duke, put an end to further inquiries.—*Tour through Scotland.* pp. 60—62.

* Review, iii. 657, 8. † Ibid, 682, 3.

conclusion of this treaty, I purpose to present you with a small discourse I have already prepared, on the duty of each kingdom, one to another, in their united capacity; wherein I hope, from observations of my own, collected at my own expence, to convince both nations how much 'tis their interest to study reciprocal acts of kindness, and good neighbourhood. I confess I never saw these things in prospect until now. And, though to me, I see no appearance of particular advantage, who in all times have the general fate to be turned aside, yet I shall rejoice in the general good, and desire no better an inscription on my grave, than that I was honoured by the invisible hand of providence, to be in the least instrumental to so glorious a work." *

The enterprising nature of De Foe's character, unfolded itself in the various schemes devised by him for the prosperity of the Scots' nation, in some of which he seems to have taken an active part. "I have told Scotland," says he, "of improvement in trade, wealth, and shipping, that shall accrue to them on the happy conclusion of this affair; and I am pleased doubly with this, that I am like to be one of the first men that shall give them the pleasure of the experiment. I have told them of the improvement of their coal trade, and 'tis their own fault if they do not particularly engage twenty or twenty-five sail of ships immediately from England on that work. I have told them of the improvement of their salt; and I am now contracting with English merchants for Scotch salt, to the value of above ten thousand *per annum*. I have told them of linen manufactures; and I have now above a hundred poor families at work, by my procuring and direction, for the making such sorts of linen, and in such manner as never was made here before, and as no person in the trade would believe could be made here till they see it. This has been my employment in Scotland, and this my

* Ibid, 682, 3.

endeavour to do that nation service, and convince them by the practice, that what I have said of union, has more weight in it than some have endeavoured to persuade them.

"Those that have charged me with missions and commissions, from neither they nor I know who, shall blush at their rashness, and be ashamed for reflecting on a man that came hither on purpose to do them good. Have I had a hand in the Union? Have I been maltreated by the tongues of the violent, threatened to be murthered, and insulted because I have pleaded for it? Gentlemen of Scotland, I refer you to her majesty's speech; there's my claim, and you do me too much honour to intitle me to a share in what her majesty says shall be their due that have done so. I plead no merit, nor do I raise the value of what I have done. I know some that are gone to London, to solicit the reward of what they have had no hand in; I might have said, are gone to claim the merit of what I have been the single author of. But as this has been the constant way of the world with me, so I have no repinings on that account; nor am I pleading any other merit than that I may have it wrote on my grave, that I did my duty in promoting the Union, and, consequently, the happiness of these nations." *

In the month of April, 1707, just before the Union was to take place, De Foe circulated a small pamphlet in Edinburgh, intitled, "A Voice from the South: Or an Address from some Protestant Dissenters in England, to the Kirk of Scotland. 1707." 4to. It consists of a whole sheet, and was re-printed in the *Review* for May 10 and 15. The object of the work was, to expostulate with the Presbyterians for their opposition to the Union, and to reconcile them to the measure, now that it was fully settled, and they were upon the point of reaping its benefits. He reminds them of the thankfulness they should cherish, that the step had not

* Review, iv. 82.

been taken when the Stuarts were upon the throne, and prelacy contended for the pre-eminence; as in that case, the Kirk would have been for ever excluded from any chance of an establishment in the country. It was their duty, therefore, to be thankful that it was undertaken at a time when the Episcopalians of the South concurred in the settlement of their discipline, which was an effectual guarantee for its security. The Union had been supported, he observes, by the advocates for liberty, and the opposers of the tyrannical proceedings of the former reigns;—men of peace, temper and moderation, who had struggled for it as the only true and direct means for suppressing injury, and erecting a just sovereignty upon the basis of law and constitution; whilst on the other hand, the opponents of the measure were to be found chiefly amongst their bitterest enemies. In conclusion, he exhorts to the cultivation of "mutual confidence, harmony and brotherly correspondence, between all sorts of Protestants in the whole island, but especially between the Dissenters in England and the Kirk of Scotland, as being inseparably bound by the same interest, and incapable of being hurt or overthrown, but to their mutual injury."

Besides the works already mentioned, other pamphlets have been attributed to De Foe, during this period of his residence in Scotland. It is probable he may have been the author of "Two Great Questions Considered, with regard to the Union. 1707." 4to. He is the reputed author of "The Quaker's Sermon on the Union: Being the only sermon preached and printed by that sort of People, on that subject. Lond. 1707." 8vo. It is advertised in the *Review*, for August 21. Dr. Arbuthnot is known to have published a *jeu d' esprit*, under the title of "A Sermon," upon the same occasion. Another tract, ascribed to De Foe, bears the following title: "The Fifteen Comforts of a Scotchman. Written by Daniel De Foe, in Scotland. London: printed in the year 1707." 8vo. pp. 8. The object of it is, to point

out the advantages which Scotland would reap from the Union. These are displayed in the true doggrel style, inferior to the worst of De Foe's performances; and it is more than probable that he had no hand whatever in it. The hawkers, who gained a livelihood by vending such trash, found their account in having the name of a writer who commanded a ready sale for their goods.

That a writer, who entered into the Union with so much earnestness, should be subjected to the calumnies of its opponents, is not surprising. The manner in which he met them has been in part told; but reproaches continued to be heaped upon him by other writers long afterwards. His old antagonist, Leslie, having taunted him for his share in the business, he says, "Though I was none of the commissioners in the treaty, as he haughtily talks, I must note here, that the Scots were promised at the time of the treaty, that they might expect all possible courtesy and kind usage, both from sovereign and subject. And as I had the honour to be a witness to this, in the closest and warmest debates, and to be admitted among those who had power to repeat such assurances, so I have seen her majesty's letters to the same purpose. And having occasion to print several tracts there, in order to remove national prejudices against the Union, I had the honour to have those arguments approved by the government there, as good service to the nation, though the reward for those services is yet behind."*

Mr. Lockhart, in his "Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland,"† has coupled the name of De Foe with the most disgraceful epithets that malice can devise; but when we consider that all the great men of his nation, who patronised the Union, participate in his scandal and abuse, the obloquy of such a writer can recoil only upon himself. Oldmixon, whose inveteracy against De Foe was commensurate with

* Review, v. 550. † Page 229.

his hatred of Harley, and who, in all other respects, is equally severe upon Lockhart, has no controversy with him upon this point.* But missiles that are thrown from the store-house of party, as is the case with these writers, usually fail in their effect; and we are apt to blame the skill of the engineers.

De Foe's residence in Scotland, brought him acquainted with many persons of consideration in that kingdom, from some of whom, as we have seen, he received many tokens of kindness and friendship. For these favours, his connexions in England enabled him afterwards to make some return; and, however his services were undervalued by the party-writers of the day, it appears there were some amongst the great and the noble, who were proud of his correspondence, and profited from his political interests.(1)

Dunton, who wrote at this period "A Secret History of the Weekly Writers," begins his catalogue with De Foe, of whom he speaks well in the main, but with all the jealousy of a rival journalist. His account of him, which is marked with all the singularities of that eccentric writer, is as follows:

"To do him justice, take him with all his failings, it

* Memoirs of North Britain, p. 181.

(1) The following extract from a letter to the Earl of Buchan, by De Foe, dated the 29th of May, 1711, was communicated to Mr. Chalmers, by his lordship's grandson, the late earl. "The person with whom *I endeavoured to plant the interest of your lordship's friend*, has been strangely taken up since I had that occasion; viz. first in suffering the operation of the surgeons, to heal the wound of the assassin; and since, in accumulating honours from parliament, the queen, and the people. On Thursday evening her majesty created him Earl Mortimer, Earl of Oxford, and Lord Harley of Wigmore; and we expect that to-morrow, in council, he will have the white staff given him by the queen, and be declared Lord-Treasurer. I wrote this yesterday, and this day, May the 29th, he is made Lord High Treasurer of Great Britain, and carried the white staff before the queen this morning to chapel."—*Chalmers's Life of De Foe*, p. 33.

must be acknowledged that De Foe is a man of good parts, and very clear sense. Whatever he says upon the subject of peace and war, is so true and correct, that (like Pythagoras's ipse dixit) it might almost stand for an infallible rule. He is master of the English tongue; can say what he pleases upon any subject; and by his printing a poem every day, one would think rhimed in his sleep. It is his misfortune that a prejudiced person should write his character. But (with all my revenge) I cannot but own, his thoughts upon any subject are always surprising, new, and singular; and though he write for bread, could never be hired to disgrace the quill, or to wrong his conscience; and which crowns his panegyrick, he is a person of true courage. It is true, I have reason to think Daniel De Foe dares not quarrel with John Dunton; but I believe he fears nothing on earth but myself: and he says as much, in telling the world "I adhere firmly to truth, and resolve to defend it against all extremities." (*Review*, vol. ii., No. 75.) He reviews without fear, and acts without fainting.——He is not daunted with multitudes of enemies; for he faces as many, every Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, as there are foes to moderation and peace. Loyalty to the queen is his guide, and resolution his companion; and a lawful occasion makes him truly brave. It was this sent him to Weymouth, Exeter, and Crediton, to preach peace and moderation to the high-flyers; and though they had not the manners to thank him, yet I hope to see them all on their knees, for not listening to his wholesome doctrine——Peace! It is a dangerous experiment the Western Tackers could not approve of; and for that reason the Weymouth Gothams had fettered him, whipped him, and perhaps burnt him, had not his known courage, and great party of two men, set him above their malice. (See *Review*, vol. ii., No. 75.) To sum up all: De Foe has piety enough for an author, and courage enough

for a martyr. And, in a word, if ever any, Daniel De Foe is a *True Englishman;* and for that reason, he is more respected by men of honour and sense, than he can be affronted by Alderman B——, Justice S——, and the rest of the Western blockheads. Now, if such an author as this should attack my journal, I shall think there is reason for it, and will endeavour to answer him; and to speak the truth, it is pity this peace-making traveller should have any enemy but error, and such a weak assailant as John Dunton."

CHAPTER XXII.

De Foe continues in Scotland.—The Third Volume of the Review.—His Account of Himself and his Concern in the Union.—Subjects discussed in this Volume.—His Remarks upon Projectors.—And upon Contracting Debts.—Further Remarks upon the Bill for Employing the Poor.—And upon Lord Haversham's Speech against the Union.—De Foe threatened by the Swedish Ambassador.—His Account of that Affair.—He is calumniated for his Share in the Union.—Is attacked by Leslie.—His Defence of Himself.—Meeting of Parliament.—Lord Haversham's Speech against the Ministers.—Satirized by De Foe.—Libel against him.

1707.

De Foe's long continued absence from England, occasioned by the persecution of his creditors, produced a relaxation of his pen, which was less fertile in 1707, than in any year since the commencement of the reign. Besides his *Review*, which furnished him with regular occupation, he does not appear to have printed any thing, excepting the pamphlets upon Scotch affairs, that have been already noticed. Being in Scotland during the whole of the year, he was busied in moderating the heat of parties, and in endeavouring to reconcile the disaffected to the Union. Necessity led him also to pay some attention to his own affairs; but the resources upon which he drew for the support of himself and family, remain unknown. It is not improbable that he may have received occasional presents from his friends in Scotland; and his publications must have turned to some account, particularly the *Review*, the permanent sale of which would now justify a stated remuneration.

De Foe closed the third volume of his *Review*, upon the 6th of February, 1706-7, when it had reached 172 numbers; having commenced with the 1st of January, 1705-6. The title was somewhat varied from that of the former volumes, being "A Review of the State of the English Nation. Vol. iii. London: printed in the year 1706." 4to. pp. 688.

In a preface of six pages, he recounts some of the ill-treatment he had experienced in the progress of the work; as, also, the occasion of it. "I must confess," says he, "I have sometimes thought it very hard, that having voluntarily, without the least direction, assistance, or encouragement, in spite of all that has been suggested, taken upon me the most necessary work of removing national prejudices against the two most capital blessings of the world—peace and union—I should have the disaster to see the nations receive the doctrine, and defame the teacher. Should I descend to particulars, it would hardly appear credible, that in a Christian, a Protestant, and a reformed nation, any men could receive such treatment as I have done, even from those very people whose consciences and judgments have stooped to the venerable truth, and owned it useful and seasonable. It would make this preface a history, to relate the reproaches, the insults, the contempt with which these papers have been treated in discourse, writing, and print, even by those who say they are embarked in the same cause. The charge made against me of partiality, bribery, pensions, and payments; things, the circumstances, family, and fortunes of a man devoted to his country's peace, clears me of. If paid for writing, if hired, if employed, why still harassed by merciless and malicious men? Why pursued to all extremities by law, for old accounts, of which other men are cleared every day? Why oppressed, distressed, and driven from his family, and from all his prospects of delivering either them or himself? Is this the fate of men employed and hired? Is this the figure the agents of courts and

princes make? Certainly, had I been hired or employed, those people that own the service, would by this time have set their servant free from the little and implacable malice of litigious prosecutions, murthering warrants, and men whose mouths are to be stopped by trifles. Let this suffice, then, to clear me of all the little and scandalous charge of being hired and employed."

De Foe goes on to say, "I am not the first that has been stoned for speaking the truth; and cannot but think, that as time and the conviction of their senses will restore men to love the peace now established in this nation, so they will gradually see I have acted no part but that of a lover of my country, and an honest man; and so in time it may wear off: and though it be hard to be threatened, yet I cannot but support myself with the continual satisfaction of having contributed my mite to the public peace." He adds, in reference to the Union, "When I foresaw the success of the treaty, in the temper and inclinations of the treaters on both sides, I thought it my duty to do my part without doors; and I knew no part I could act in my sphere, so useful and proper, as to attempt to remove the national prejudices, which both people, by the casualty of time and the errors of parties, had too eagerly taken up, and were adhered to with too great tenacity. To this purpose, I wrote *Two* Essays against National Prejudices in England, while the treaty was in agitation there, and *Four* more in Scotland, while it was debating in the parliament there; the contents of all which are reprinted in this paper. Nor did I think my time and labour ill bestowed, to take a long, tedious, and hazardous journey thither, or to expose myself to a thousand insults, scoffs, rabbles, and tumults; and to all manner of despiteful and injurious treatment, if possible, to bring the people there to their senses, and free them from the unreasonable prejudices they had entertained against the prosperity of their country. And having seen the treaty happily

ratified there, I thought this a proper period to close the volume, which had already run beyond its usual bounds. The next volume will begin with the entering upon the treaty by the parliament of England, where I hope it will meet with better treatment than it has met with in Scotland, and a better reception from the people.

The scheme of subjects laid down by the author for discussion in this volume, is thus explained in his opening paper. "First, I purpose to give a short abridgment of what I have already said on the head of trade, and particularly as it respects England; together with the several decays and improvements that my observations have furnished me with. I shall not, however, so confine myself to the subject, but as occasion presents, I may continue my observations upon public matters, especially as they respect the affairs of war; and, perhaps, may get so far forward in matters of trade, by the opening of our next campaign, as may give leisure to divert the reader with such needful remarks on the public actions, as occasion presents. For this purpose, as in my first design, I laid down a scheme of innocent and useful diversion, though it afterwards increased upon me to a magnitude which I could not foresee; so I purpose certain *Miscellanea* at the end of this paper, as an alleviation to the tedious view of other matters. I shall take care that this shall hand nothing to the world that is improper or impertinent; nor shall it be so considerable as to cut off or shorten the thread of the other matters.

"In this discourse, I shall, in particular, undeceive the world as to the subject-matter of a long journey I took last summer into the western and northern countries; and it shall no longer remain a mystery why I travelled so far. The gentlemen of Devon shall blush, when they tell me I came there to disperse pamphlets, and make factions; and our beloved friends at Manchester, who fancied me going into Scotland to head a party, will be ashamed of them-

selves. All those north-countrymen of courage, who being very civil to me when I was there, and bully'd me when I was gone, will find they were mistaken in the man, and insulted me without cause. The improvement of an expensive journey will here be published for the instruction and information of those very enemies who so much envied seeing the author out of gaol; and he labours to requite their malice by doing them good. He did not travel to form parties, but to inquire into the posture of our trade; and he doubts not to give profitable essays, at such regulations as may be useful to the parties concerned.

"Perhaps he may give some needful hints as to the state of our poor, in which his judgment may differ from that of others; but he must be plain. And while he is no enemy to charity-hospitals and work-houses, he thinks that methods to keep our poor out of them, far exceed, both in prudence and charity, all the settlements and endeavours in the world to maintain them there. As to censure, he expects it. He writes to serve the world, not to please it. A few wise, calm, disinterested men, he always had the good hap to please and satisfy. By their judgment he desires still to be determined; and if he has any pride, it is, that he may be approved by such. To the rest, he sedately says, their censure deserves no notice."*

These several matters are handled by De Foe with great skill and information. Of his penetration, the reader may take the following specimen, which testifies, that the rage for speculation has not been confined to our own day. "Multitudes of mushrooms have obtained upon the world, whose birth was the produce of mere vapour and exhalation; which, as they spring up in the dark moments of trade, when her eyes were shut, and she was, as it were, dozed with dreams, so they were born to evaporate by time, and die in the hand-

* Review, iii. 2—4.

ling. Yet, these things have risen to vast heighths, and being mere bladders, but vastly extended by the blast of management, have been calculated to make fools, serve knaves, and at last burst into air, for the instruction of the first, and the conviction of the last. Of these, it would be endless to give a complete list, and the world need be sent no further back for the proof, than to saltpetre works, linen manufactures, paper companies, diving engines, and the like; which one would think should have made the world too wise to be bubbled again by second editions, be they mine-adventures, stocks, banks, or what sort of enigmas you please. Let it no more remain a mystery, therefore, that an outside dresses up a project. 'Tis no new thing to tell you, that substance is not always necessary to raise up a brat of this spurious birth. Air will blow up a bladder, and make it bound and dance, till all the boys in the street get together and make a foot-ball of it; but with much tossing about the sport grows dull, the ball dirty and heavy, and at last returns to its original nothing, and so must all such projects. All credit built on their foundation, is a *deceptio visus* upon the imagination, an *ignis fatuus* that draws people into ditches and dirt, and then needs nothing but a little day-light to undeceive them. Let all men, therefore, that would be made wise, rather at other men's cost than their own, but wait a little, till time and day-light brings trade and them also into their senses; and they will soon see the difference between real and imaginary funds."*

De Foe has some excellent remarks upon the subject of credit, as no less injurious to the persons who take it, than to the tradesmen who suffer by the practice. The following observations which, would do no discredit to the Tatler, attest the qualification of De Foe as a censor of public manners.

"'Tis the dishonour of our English gentry, to remain in debt, and the insults they frequently meet with on that

* Review, iii. 503, 4.

account are insufferable, and such as I have often wondered they could bear. I have, indeed, heard of a person of quality, who was fond of a crowd of duns attending every morning at his door, because it looked great, and made a handsome levee. But 'tis much more for the honour of any gentleman, to buy nothing but what he pays for, and pay at demand for every thing he buys. How much more money he shall save by it, I need not ask him; his steward and coachman, who receive their poundage, can answer that. It would take up too much time to explain to our gentlemen what extravagancies they are at in taking credit of their tradesmen; how their servants are bribed to give preferences to particular individuals, whose goods they consequently recommend; whilst the master pays the fees in the price of the goods, and the tradesman suits his rate to the goodness of his pay; frequently making such a provision, that if he gets but half his money, he reckons himself but a small loser.

"And here I cannot pass over another remark, which, if our gentlemen would but regard, they would find a strange havoc made of their reputation by every mechanic they deal with, who, to excuse his own ill-payments, tells his creditor of the vast sums due to him from such and such great families, from whom he can get no money; and whether it be true or no, those families being known for ill-paymasters, it serves his turn, and he saves his own reputation at the expence of others. I had once a tenant in Westminster, though the world has since taken care I shall have no tenant any where, who was a butcher; and I never came to this fellow for rent, but, if his money was not ready, such a great lord owed him £150, and such a great officer at court, owed him £50, and he had been every day for a fortnight at their houses; but could not get a penny. At last, my butcher was pleased to break, and when his debts came to be examined, these great folks never owed him a farthing, and had but seldom bought of him, so that it

was all a sham. But, as the persons he used to name, were known to be in debt to such as him, it served his turn well enough, and my lord's reputation went a begging to patch up the extravagancies of the bankrupt butcher. Would gentlemen but consider what havoc tradesmen make of their reputation, by frequently exposing their long accounts, it would make them resolve to run through any sort of inconvenience, rather than be so treated. And, indeed, 'tis a a wonder to me, how tamely our gentlemen will take the insults of a dunning shop-keeper or workman, when, for half the language, they will fall to cutting of throats, duels, and I know not what extravagancies. *Hang well and pay well*, was a good old maxim, let it come from whom it will.

"If I am asked, how the evil is to be remedied? I answer, very easily; by a little self-denial, and good husbandry. One general practice among our gentry, not to spend their money before they have it, would deliver them from this most scandalous and contemptible treatment. If a gentleman's circumstances oblige him to contract debts, he had much better borrow money, and buy what he wants, than buy without money. He shall never pay such extortion for the loan of the money, which every body understands, as he shall for the necessaries he buys of the tradesman, the value of which he does not understand. 'Tis true, borrowing of money is one of the last things a gentleman should do, and is a labyrinth he seldom gets out of; but almost anything is better than the other. Certainly, if they knew how they are treated on this account, by those whom they, like Job, would refuse to set with the very dogs of their flock; they would disband their retinues, dismount their equipages, and retire for a while, till their estates would ransom them from so scandalous a bondage."

De Foe calculates, that by taking two years' credit, a gentleman lessens his estate by one-fifth part; with less

than which, the tradesman cannot live. Suppose his income to be £500 *per annum*, he sustains a clear yearly loss of a hundred pounds, besides a loss of credit, and a subjection to various indignities; whilst a man who pays ready money will not only save that sum, but, in a course of years, make a large addition to his estate, as well as be enabled to portion off his children, and pass for a man of honour in the world. The effect of the system upon the retail trader, he describes as equally injurious; for it obliges him, also, to take credit of the wholesale dealer, and subjecting him to irregularity in his payments, often exposes him to bankruptcy. * The justice of these remarks, and the good sense that dictated them, must be apparent to every reader.

Our author's long absence in Scotland occasioned his enemies to report that he had discontinued writing in the *Review*; a falsehood that he took pains to correct in some of the latter numbers of the volume. He assures the world, that whatever were his other engagements, it was still written by the same hand, and that no other person ever had any concern in it but the known author, D. F.

During the session of parliament, at the commencement of 1707, Sir Humphrey Mackworth renewed his bill for the employment of the poor, and was chairman of the committee for the discussion of its contents. De Foe being at a distance from London, and occupied upon other business, it did not immediately engage his attention; but before it passed into a law, he bestowed some further remarks upon it in his *Review*. "I am sorry," says he, "to see the foundations of our trade struck at, under the specious outside of charity. I make no reflections, and hope the gentlemen who move these things mean well to the poor; but if I

* Review, iii. 29, 35.

were to make my choice, and had so hard a fate before me, I would think myself happy to be led out to immediate execution, rather than to have the curses of a nation's poor follow me to a grave more remote, or have it written on my grave-stone, 'Here lyes D. F. that projected the destruction of the English manufactures, and ruined the poor of this kingdom.' I think it, therefore, an indispensible duty in me, as a member, however unworthy, of the English nation, to bear my testimony against this evil, let it come from what fountain, or be guided into the world by what instruments soever. I purpose no offence to any; but I must search this wound to the bottom, let it smart where it will."

De Foe observes, that if the lands in England were equally divided, they might supply the full number of the people with food; but as they are now apportioned, and the people divided into rich and poor, they would not feed one half the people. "Not that the quantity would fail, but employment being taken from the poor, they would immediately want the means to buy bread; and then, unless the rich divided it to them gratis, they must starve." He therefore infers, that trade is the life of the nation, and we can no more live without it, than without bread. Trade, he observes, sorts the people, and plants them in numbers in one place; from whence come union and wealth, and from thence strength and power, and all the appendices which serve to make a nation great, opulent and famous in the world. The prosperity of England, he traces to this source, and examines the various methods by which it has been brought to pass; how it has insinuated itself, like the animal spirits in the body, into every part of the nation, which is affected by its influence. He then goes over the various grounds of argument suggested by the subject; advocates the principle of free-trade; and concludes that setting the poor to work is the best charity. The last, he contends, may be effected without legislative interference,

or disturbing the relations of trade, which promote its free circulation through the kingdom. For the elucidation of these topics, he refers to his former treatise, intitled "Giving Alms no Charity." *

In the month of March, De Foe brought another acquaintance before the public, in the person of Lord Haversham, who was in opposition to the ministry, and spoke warmly against the Union. Having printed his speech, De Foe was urged to answer it; but declined any separate publication, and contented himself with ridiculing it in his *Review*. "I have been frequently pressed," says he, "to make a formal reply to a pamphlet cried about the streets, entitled, (whether it be his lordship's or no) "The Lord Haversham's Speech." Nor is it from any apprehension of being worsted in argument, or that I any way agree in judgment with what is there advanced, that I refrain from a particular survey of a piece so extraordinary; far less am I deterred from the attempt for fear of his lordship's resentment, who, they say, made that speech; and, least of all, from any regard to the impotent resentments of a party that appears gratified with it. But, if those who desire the paper, called *A Speech*, taken to pieces, will first tell me the real meaning of it, or assure me that it has any meaning at all, I will then consider what to say of it. For, to answer a rhapsody of wayward expressions, calculated for the mal-content genius of a party, and put together in a crowd, can merit no regard."

In the abuse levelled at the government by Lord Haversham, De Foe largely participated; but he leaves his own defence for the more grateful employment of vindicating the honour of King William, who had been grossly insulted by the speech-maker. "It is a thing too common for me to be uneasy at," says he, "that while I am arguing and per-

* Review, iv. 22—27.

suading all men to peace, they should endeavour to let me have none myself. In this I have the victory over all the malice and raillery of the world, that I have a perfect calm in my own mind, in spite of all their noise, clamour, and reproach. But this is not all. One thing generally happens in all the storms of slander and virulence that attack the poor author of this paper, viz. That he has the honour to be abused in very good company. Whenever I am bullied, and the sluices of Billingsgate let fly, the memory of King William must come in for a share, and they must throw dirt at him, by whom, under providence, if they had eyes to see their country's happiness, all our envied felicity was begun; nay, by whom even they themselves enjoy, unpunished, the liberty of abusing him. Filled with impotent rage, they fly in the face of their benefactor, and rip up his memory in their speeches, poems, prints, &c., dressed up with forgeries and fictions, to raise a cloud, if possible, to eclipse a glory which shines too bright for the eyes of guilt and envy to look at. Thus, like dogs that bark at the moon, they curse and look up, they make a noise and throw dust; but the beauteous planet shines on, and suffers no eclipse from their rage. The glorious and immortal memory of the king will shine to the end of time; and 'tis the honour of this mean author, who will always esteem it so, not only to defend it, but to share the malice, and declare eternal war with all those that insult his character."*

In the course of the summer, De Foe fell under the frowns of the Swedish ambassador, the real ground of which has not been stated by any of his biographers. It has been usually referred to a passage published three years before in the "Consolidator;" but the offence arose from some

* Review, iv. 157—8.

reflections in the *Review*, the particulars of which are thus related by himself.

"Great are the triumphs and rejoicings of a party of men, well enough known among us, at a certain piece of news, spread about by their news-writers long before it was true, and impudently dressed up with forgeries and additions by one of them since it was true, viz. That the Swedish ambassador has made a complaint against this paper. But I'll soon put a stop to their rejoicings, by exhibiting a true statement of the affair to the view of every impartial reader, and I doubt not to the satisfaction of the Swedish envoy also. What it is in particular that he has taken offence at, I am not yet informed." De Foe says that if he had used too great plainness of speech, or said any thing unjust or untrue, he was willing to make reparation by a public acknowledgment, or submit to the laws of England.

The affair was a source of triumph to De Foe's enemies, who made much more of it than it really deserved. "Those who show so much particular satisfaction at the hopes they have entertained of my destruction by the prosecution of this paper," says he, "and with so much gust insult me upon that head, boast, because I am remote, that I am fled from justice, and make nothing of sending the queen's messengers after me into Scotland. Impotent malice! How does it fly in the faces of its contrivers. The government need never be at the charge of a messenger to me: I am so fully convinced of the justice and mercy of her majesty's government, that were I guilty of a much worse crime, I would on the least summons appear, and either frankly claim the first, or submit to and implore the last. And where am I, ye sons of unwearied slander, that you should suggest I am fled from justice? Am I concealed, or out of her majesty's dominions? Now that the Union has opened the door, the nations protect no criminals against each other. Let us see your charge;

let it be as public as your malice: I'll put in bail to answer all you can object, let it be what it will. But this is the course of the age; when nothing else can revenge their cause, they fly to that worst of murthers—slander and reproach.

"But to the case in hand. With what pleasure am I insulted in this affair against the *Review?* How have I been sent to Count Zober, and, bound hand and foot, surrendered to the Swedes? Alas, gentlemen, your prophecies of evil tidings are not yet come to pass! The liberty of Englishmen is in better case; no man can be punished here at the will of the prince, much less at the will of a foreign prince. In England, even the sovereign never punishes but by law; and a jury of equals must determine the fact. An Englishman is born a freeman; no power can insult him; no superior oppress him: this is the confidence and glory of our island. He that will abandon this liberty, is not a fool only, but a knave; a knave to himself, to his family, to his posterity, and to the constitution. Let none of my friends be afraid for me; if I have broken the law, they ought to abandon me to the law, and I ask no favour. If I have not, no king, no threatening, no, not all the powers of Europe, can make her majesty break in upon her people's liberties, or deviate from justice; in the satisfaction of which all her subjects are easy and safe, and I among the rest."*

The article complained of, is to be found in the sixty-sixth number of the *Review*, which contains some speculations upon the policy of the Swedish monarch, delivered hypothetically, and couched in language which any political writer might use without offence. De Foe regards the King of Sweden, who at that time was Charles XII., as holding the balance of power in Europe, and capable of turning the scale in whichever way his policy directed. Of his future

* Review, iv. 429—432.

projects, he considers it altogether in vain to form a conjecture; and leaves it to time alone to develope the reasons of his mysterious conduct. He speaks of him as a brave and warlike prince, and the article may be considered rather complimentary than otherwise. (K) It is probable that the ambassador was prompted by some enemy of De Foe to attack his paper; but whoever he was, he betrayed a want of judgment equal to his malice, as the article in question furnished no ground for any public notice. The government appears to have been of this mind, as the application was not listened to; and the explanation of De Foe probably satisfied the ambassador. If the conduct of public men were to be exempted from animadversion, there would be an

(K) The following are the chief passages relating to the Swedish monarch, in the above number: "I own, he is at present to me an unaccountable prince; and while he lies still in Saxony with 15,000 men, in the heat of summer, the very season of war; while he suffers Poland to be ravaged by the Muscovite, and the new king whom he has set up, to be almost banished from his dominions; while he leaves his own subjects in Livonia under the Russian tyranny; and that kingdom, for which he undertook a bloody war, to be snatched from him by a contemptible enemy,—will any man tell me he has no meaning? Will any man say he does not keep his eye upon the stage of Europe, and reserve himself to act as things shall issue there? In that case, I must say, I give no heed to such discourse. Either he has something in view beyond the usual guesses of the world, or else, he is the most impolitick, nothing-doing prince in the world; and this, we have have no reason to say of him yet. I own, 'tis too much in the power of that prince, at this time, to turn the scale of Europe. Should a neutral prince, who stands still with 15,000 men at his heels, and such men as his are too, than which there are no better in the world; should this prince fall in on any side, he must run the other to great extremities. On the other hand, should he propose to arbitrate terms of peace, and openly declare against the negative side, I must own, he would immediately turn the whole face of affairs, and break the confederacy. And, if there be not something of this in his designs, it will be hard to imagine what reason he can have for staying all this while in Saxony. As to the suggestion of his joining France, I cannot entertain such a thought of a Protestant prince; and in honour to his character, as well as common justice, I will not suggest such a thing, till I see some further ground for it."—*Review*, iv. 263—4.

end to the liberty of the press, and to any chance of human improvement. It is true, this liberty may be abused for the gratification of private malice; but as no wise man will justify its appropriation to such a purpose, so, in such cases, the law has provided ample means for its correction.

Whilst De Foe was engaged in promoting the Union, and even long after it had taken place, the calumny of tongues was at work in impeaching his motives, and undervaluing his services. In his *Review* for September 2d, he writes thus: "I have for a long time patiently borne with the scurrilous prints, and scandalous reproaches of the streets, concerning my being in Scotland. To-day I am sent thither by one party, to-morrow by another; this time by one particular person, that by a body of people; by some one way, by others another; and I have long waited to see if, out of innumerable guesses, they would at last make a discovery of the true, and to me, melancholy reason of settling myself in a remote corner of the world; which, if they had done, I should, no question, have been insulted enough upon that head. But, since their guesses have too much party-malice in them to be right, though there are five or six persons in London, who can not only give a true account of my removal, but recal me from this banishment, if they had humanity in them a degree less than an African lion; I therefore cannot but take up a little room in these papers about my own case. There are two sorts of people out of reach by the world; those that are above, and those that are below it: and they may be equally happy for aught I know. Of the last sort, I reckon myself, and declare, that as I am below their envy, so I seek not their pity. I am, I bless God, secure in my retreat from their fury, and am fully revenged of the world by despising all the contempt it can throw upon me.

"But I come to the censures of the world. 'An under-spur-leather,' says one, 'sent down to Scotland to make the Union, to write for it, and the like.' Angry man! Not purely that I am employed, as he calls it, but that he is not." Another said, he was hired by the court to write as he was told; which excellent stuff, says he, answered itself. Of Leslie, who attacked him in the "Rehearsal," he says, in his humorous way, "He has got me a new commission from the Presbyterians: I hope in a few days I may have it down by the post, with directions where to send for my salary; for I assure him, it cannot but be very welcome at this distance." Speaking of his book called *The Short View*, lately published, Leslie had said, "It is wrote by a remarkable agent of the Presbyterians in England, who has long been employed by them as their public vindicator here, which he still continues; and he was sent down by them the last winter into Scotland, to manage their concerns as to the Union there; where he staid a long time, and performs the part of their vindicator to their brethren in Scotland."*

In reply to these charges, De Foe says, "How shall I do to reconcile the three opinions. One says, I am sent by particular persons, another by the court, and a third by the Presbyterians. I wish it had been, first of all true, that I was sent by any body; for the work is so just, so good, and so honourable, I need neither be ashamed of the message, nor the sender. But I think the same answer would be very fit to give to these carping querulous gentlemen, as honest Samuel Colvil, the famous Scottish Hudibras gave, when he was complaining of the abuses of those that railed on him about his poetry: "They say that I am a bad poet, but I answer in few words, that's true, and yet they are liars, because they aver in malice, not knowing whether it

* Rehearsal, No. 226.

be true or false.* Now," adds De Foe, "though it were true that I was sent by this or that man, or party, I may say, with Sam. Colvil, none of you can know whether it be true or false. But since you have been so free with me about my being sent, let me tell you, and all the world, something in which I am persuaded you will be of my side. If I have been sent hither, as you say, I have been most barbarously treated; for I profess, solemnly, I have not yet had one penny of my wages, nor the least consideration for the time set apart in this service, nor had I had the good fortune to have my brains knocked out by the high-flying mob here, do I see any prospect of having been canonized as a martyr for the cause, or of having my name inserted in the Presbyterian Kalendar. The utmost I expect is what I have before met with. What business had he with it? What had he to do there? Who sent him? and the like." Addressing the Presbyterians, he asks, "Is not this hard, now, gentlemen, that I should have the testimony of your enemies, that I have been serviceable to your cause, and none from yourselves? Pray, consider of it, and either discharge yourselves honourably, to your poor missionary in the North, or let these fellows know they are a gang of liars, and you know nothing of the matter. Indeed, it is very hard, and I hope the Presbyterians will consider of it, that I should be sent down by them to manage their affairs, having been long before employed by them as their public vindicator in England, and yet have not received one farthing salary. I think they have done me a great deal of wrong, and 'tis but small encouragement to any body to enter into their service. But to leave jesting, I would desire Mr. Rehearsal, in order to preserve the common decency of language, to prove things as he goes on; and I fairly challenge him to prove one tittle, of what he so positively

* Whig's Supplication.—*Pref.* p. 6.

affirms. If he cannot do this, let the world judge to what purpose it would be to enter upon a debate with a man who makes a positive charge, but brings no proof of the fact."*

In reply to the charge of writing for the court, he says, "If I have espoused a wrong cause; if I have acted in a good cause in an unfair manner; if I have for fear, favour, or by the bias of any man in the world, great or small, acted against what I always professed, or what is the known interest of the nation; if I have any way abandoned that glorious principle of truth and liberty, which I ever was embarked in, and which I trust, I shall never through fear or hope, step one inch back from; if I have done thus, then, as Job says, in another case, *Let thistles grow instead of wheat, and cockles instead of barley;* then, and not till then, may I be esteemed a mercenary, a missionary, or spy, or what you please. But, if the cause be just, if it be the peace, security, and happiness of both nations; if I have done it honestly, and effectually, how does it alter the case if I have been fairly encouraged, supported, and rewarded in the work, as God knows I have not? Does the mission disable the messenger, or does it depend upon the merit of the message? Cease your enquiry then, about my being sent by this or that person, or party, till you can agree who it is, when I shall be glad of an opportunity to own it, as I see no cause to be ashamed of the errand."

Pursuing his manly vindication, De Foe thus replies to another charge: "Oh, but 'tis a scandalous employment to write for bread! The worse for him, gentlemen, that he should take so much pains, run so many risks, make himself so many enemies, and expose himself to so much scurrilous treatment for bread; and not get it neither. Assure yourselves, had not providence found out other and unlooked for

* Review, iv. 346—8.

supplies by mere wonders of goodness, you had long ago had the desire of your hearts, to starve him out of this employment. But, after all, suppose you say true, that all I do is for bread, which I assure you is very false, what are all the employments in the world pursued for, but for bread? But, though it has been quite otherwise in my case, I am easy, and can depend upon that promise, *Thy bread shall be given thee, and thy waters shall be sure.* I have espoused an honest interest, and have steadily adhered to it all my days: I never forsook it when it was oppressed, I never made a gain by it when it was advanced; and I thank God it is not in the power of all the courts and parties in Christendom to bid a price high enough to buy me off from it, or make me desert it."* His confidence in the care of providence, he expressed in the following couplet:

> "I am satisfied it never shall be said,
> But he that gave me brains, will give me bread."

Preparatory to the meeting of parliament, upon the 23d of October, De Foe drew up an address to the members, similar to the one he had published before, exhorting them to a regular attendance, and to unanimity in their proceedings. He warns them of cabals without doors, "to bring into question the affairs of the state, and the men of the state also;" and exhorts them by an early declaration of their sentiments, to give a check to such proceedings. His good advice, however, was thrown away; for the session opened with a stormy debate upon the state of the nation. In a committee of inquiry upon the subject, Lord Haversham pronounced a violent phillipic against the ministers, and afterwards published his speech. This furnished fresh sport for the wits of the day, and De Foe made it an occasion for merriment in his *Reviews*.

* Review, iv. 351—2.

Under the semblance of satirizing a speech, made in the Scottish parliament against the Union, De Foe levels his shafts at the English peer. "I know," says he, "the malicious world will suggest all the hard things possible of me upon this paper, and perhaps some may have wickedness enough to charge me with meaning a noble lord, who has lately spoken in the parliament at London; but as it was true, both as to persons and things, far north of the Tweed, I put in my caveat against the prejudging malice of the times. As to matters in the South, I am told my Lord H. has made a speech there too against the English ministers. I am not going to answer my lord; for since he is pleased to say, that all he says will prove very insignificant, it must needs be insignificant to make a reply to it. And as I have too much breeding to put my negative upon his lordship, I shall readily concur with him in this, and acknowledge I think so too. The main of his lordship's discourse, if I understand it, aims at removing the ministry; a thing, his lordship remembers, no doubt, was formerly practised too often, by one at least, when somebody was put out, to put somebody in, which nobody was ever the better for." *

The allusion to matters "far north of the Tweed," has reference to a violent philippic against the Union, by Lord Belhaven, which De Foe accommodates to the English speech-maker. The artifice is thus supported: "Rummaging among old records in the north, which has been my work for some time, it came to pass that there came in my way, an old speech made a long time ago by a noble peer, and which was printed for instruction, or ostentation, or something else, as was known in those times; and annexed to the speech, was found an old MS. entitled *A State Catechism*, in which there were a great many unhappy questions, which have a strange relation to what has happened since." This cate-

* Review, iv. 509, &c.

chism is a professed satire upon Lord Belhaven's speech; and from the resemblance of past and present times, De Foe draws the following inferences: "1. 'Tis no new thing for great men to make speeches. 2. 'Tis no new thing for great men to print their speeches. 3. 'Tis no new thing to do both when they are very insignificant; or, in plain English, when they are nothing to the purpose. 4. When great men make speeches and print them when they are nothing to the purpose, the common people's business is to laugh at them, and wise men's to take no notice of them. 5. When great men talk and print, and nobody minds them, they grow wiser at last, and hold their tongues." De Foe adds, "I confess these things were done a long time ago, and the jest will be lost to a great many people, because to every story there hangs a tale, as we say, and men ought to know the history of things, in order to understand the rest: but really, good people, there is no room in this paper for explications. As for those who do not remember the story, they may explain old things by new, or new things by old; 'tis all one to GABRIEL JOHN.

> "For, as an ancient speech did fail,
> For being all head without a tail;
> So this was lost, because they said,
> It was all tail, and had no head."*

Towards the end of the year, De Foe was attacked in a wretched libel, printed upon a half-sheet, with the following title: "Have a Care what you say." The writer prudently concealed his name, lest his character for nonsense should rise to the proportion of his bigotry.

* Review, iv. 513, &c.

END OF VOL. II.

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